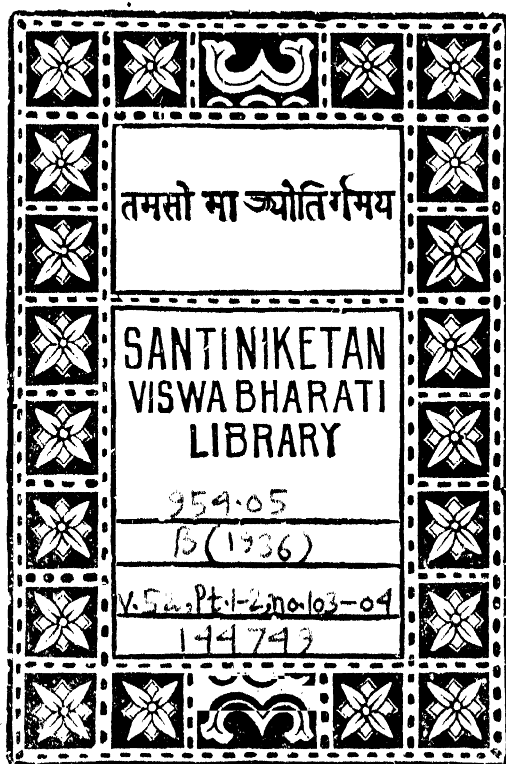
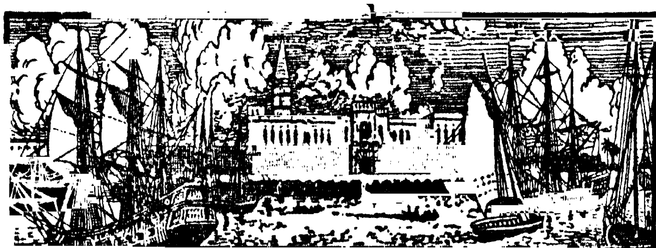
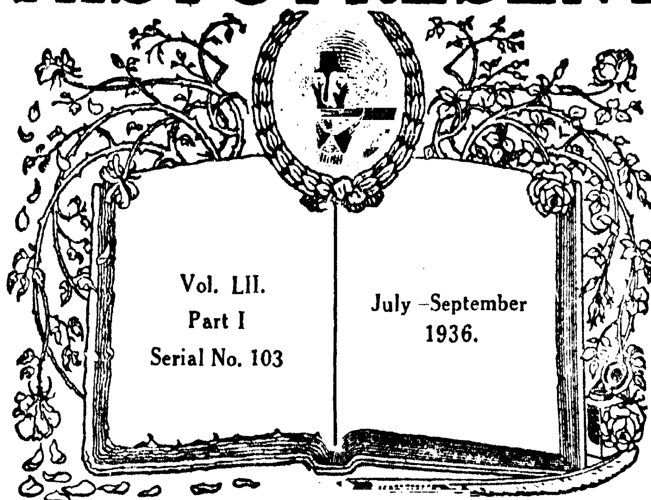
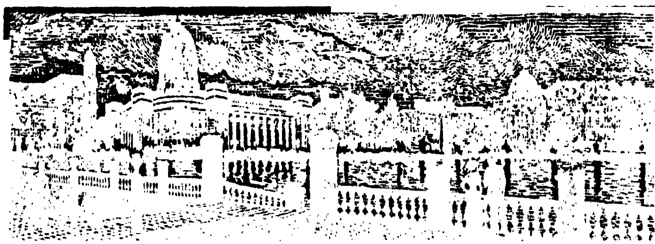




BENGAL PAST & PRESENT





JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Some New Hastings Letters

Two letters and an interrogatory written by Warren Hastings, and a letter of Mrs. Hastings, all apparently hitherto unpublished, have recently come into my possession and are printed below. Of these, the first two are reprinted by kind permission of *The Statesman.*

H. BULLOCK,
Major.

I.

THERE are many pleasant word pictures of the first Governor-General during the long and mellow twilight of his life at Daylesford, and one of these was lightly sketched by the late Dean of Winchester, about thirty years ago, when he wrote of Warren Hastings riding out in his old age to watch the local volunteers training to repel the threatened French invasion. Even so near our own time "old folk till quite lately remembered him, a small man sitting huddled on his horse." For when Napoleon was assembling the immense "Army of England" at Boulogne, the other great Consul of days gone by was in supreme authority over a little Cotswold parish and was there inspecting his rather smaller command.

How small the force at Daylesford was will presently appear, but it may be noted that even to-day there is no village of Daylesford. The parish contains only the church (re-edified by Warren, but senselessly pulled down in 1860) with the great man's simple grave outside at its east end, Daylesford House, a short double row of estate cottages, and a scattered farm or two. There is no other habitation there, and indeed a few months ago I could see nothing that might not have stood there in Hastings' time. The citizen soldiers of this parish, we may therefore suppose, would be drawn only from the more able-bodied of the manservants at the House and the shepherds and carters from the farm (which Warren turned over to his wife to run, for as he said he was only £450 a year out of pocket by it and she got far more than that amount of enjoyment and health out of it).

Our conjecture at to the Daylesford soldiery is confirmed by the following original letter, entirely in Hastings' hand. It is addressed to John Woodman, his brother-in-law, who was at one time steward to the Duke of Bridgewater and who had married Ann Hastings about 1749. At the time this letter

was written Hastings was 71 years of age and Woodman 79. It reads as follows: I have expanded the contractions:—

Daylesford House, 21st August, 1803.

My dear brother,

I shall be much obliged to you for the loan of your musket: I mean that which was once mine, and which I resigned to you when I went the last time to India. I hope I shall not want it long, and when I have no furthe*r* occasion for it, I will return it to you in good condition. You may send it to me by the coach or waggon. I should prefer the former for expedition. My reason for this hurry, and for the request itself, is this: The parish of Daylesford is detached at a great distance from the country. To obviate the necessity of joining it to any other for the purpose of its discipline, I have resolved to charge myself with it, and have bespoke half a dozen muskets from Birmingham: but these must be made, and it may be long before I receive them. In the mean time I have engaged my old porter to come to drill the people; and he is arrived. I shall employ him till you can accommodate me with the musket, in teaching and practising them to march and perform their evolutions; and your musket will keep them all in successive employments till I get the rest.

If you have the bayonet belonging to the musket, I will thank you for the use of that with it.

If T. Woodman is with you, give my love to him. I have had a letter from him a long time past, but it gave me too imperfect a direction to him to enable me to answer it.

I desire also to be affectionately remembered to Mr. and Mrs. Myers.

I am happy to hear that you have been steadily and surprizingly well. We are all so, mother, son and grandmother.

Yours affectionately,
WARREN HASTINGS.

To John Woodman, Esq.,
Pickering Court,
St. James' Street, London.

Woodman is stated by the late "Sydney C. Grier" to have lived in Cleveland Row, St. James's: the above address may relate to the same house. The letter has been re-addressed to "Ewel (*sic*) near Epsome (*sic*)," where Woodman had a country farm, and bears the old postmark "Chipping Norton 81," viz., 81 miles from London, from which figure the postage payable by the recipient was calculated. All the persons mentioned

in the letter can be identified. "T. Woodman" was Warren's nephew, afterwards rector of Daylesford, who married Marian Hastings' niece Louise von Chapuset and thus carried the union between the two families into another generation. "Mother, son and grandmother" were respectively Mrs. Hastings ; Sir Charles Imhoff, her son by her first husband ; and the Baroness Chapusetin, her indomitable old mother, who made her way from the Continent to Daylesford after the peace of Amiens, being then 83 years of age. (S. C. Grier falls into one of her rare errors in putting her age then as 77). "Mr. and Mrs. Myers" were a parson of that name, and his wife who was John Woodman's daughter Elizabeth. The letter is sealed in red wax, impressed with Hasting's armorial bearings.

By a happy chance we are able to take the story a little further. On 4th October following, Hastings wrote to his friend (but not relative) Charles Hastings to congratulate him upon his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general. "I am interested in it leading to employment," he said (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report no. 78, p. 313), "for I may have occasion soon to look out for some commander under whom I may bestow my personal services on my country, and if you have a corps, whatever may be the strength of it, I will serve under no one else, if you will take me. I think I shall be able to seduce six Daylesford recruits, and with these, and six new Birmingham muskets, we shall make a respectable reinforcement."

And so the curtain falls again on Hastings, just thirty years after he had become the first Governor-General, exercising the six yokels one by one with the musket (and, let us hope, the bayonet too) that he had left behind in England when he returned to Bengal in 1769, the little man "sitting huddled on his horse" and full of proper defiance of Old Boney.

II.

"Flowers, Ribbands, Lappets, Feathers shaking,
And Cap that cost three weeks in making,
Pearls all in rows, and Pearls in drops,
And brilliant Pins set thick as hops,
Gay gown and Stomacher so fine.
And Petticoat of clouds divine.
With other silken things, and lac'd things!
Combined ye flutter forth, to shew
Your gaudy charms to public view:
Admiring swains with rapture eye
The Pageant, as it moves, and die :
And People call you, Mrs. Hastings."

In this "epigram borrowed from the French" Warren Hastings attempted to depict the *ensemble* of his wife Marian upon a state occasion. It is said to have been written at the end of December, 1784 ; but there is no certainty as to the date, and the dress which Hastings portrayed bears a strong resemblance to one which his wife had worn when they were at

Chunar late in November, 1781. The latter is thus described by an officer present:—"A black satin riding jacket and petticoat, the jacket and the botton of the petticoat were edged with 40 or 50-rupee pearls, the buttons of the sleeves were diamonds. On her left shoulder was a valuable diamond star, and two large diamonds marked the length of her waist. Her under jacket, or waistcoat, was of white satin, ornamented with two rows of diamond buttons of a good size. Hei hat was black, edged with pearls of 70 or 80 rupees value each; the button and loop were of diamonds, and could not be worth less than from four to five thousand pounds sterling. Pendent to a black feather which nodded over her left eye was a large drop diamond, and in front of the hat was another of a large size. In short, it was the most elegant and costly undress that was perhaps ever worn; and Mrs. Hastings, who happened to be in better health than usual that evening, looked like an angel. People who saw the dress are universally of opinion that it would not be worth less than from five and twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling." (*Soldiering in India*, p. 349).

The following, in Marian Hastings' writing throughout, throws some light upon the preparations which she made for the winter of 1781:—

Calcutta, January 26th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have been favoured with your obliging Letter of the 12th. It gives me pleasure to hear from Mr. Hastings that you are pleased with your present situation, and sincerely wish you as much profit as pleasure from it.

The Cap which you sent me is Curious, not only in its Shape, but in the Furs, with which it is ornamented. The Whit (*sic*) I can tell you is real Ermine—but no Ermine for me! I am in Raptures with the Black Skins, that the Cap is Edge (*sic*) with. It is indeed beautiful. I have seen a Trimming of that sort in Germany which came from Russia, they Caled (*sic*) it Black Fox Skins.

As my Sex is accused of been (*sic*) Changeable—You will not be surprised when I tell you, that I have aldered (*sic*) my Mind respecting the Ermine Trimming, and wish to have Black Fox Skins. If you can procure me enough of the same sort as is round the Cap, I shall be obliged to you for them—I am in no hurry for them, if I have it by next Cold Weather it will be time enough. Least (*sic*) the Merchants should have forgot the Fur that is round the Cap—I enclose a bit of it. You will be so good to write to the Man, that the Fur must have that long glossy Hair upon it which you will see in the enclosed—the whole Beauty consists in this.

I am, Dear Sir, Yr. humble Servt.,

M. HASTINGS.

The first question is— should we read "Cap" as Cape? Would a cap, however large, need several fox skins for its trimming? If Mrs. Hastings could write "whit" for "white," she might also put "cap" for "cape." But a careful reading of the letter suggests that the black fox skins may not have been wanted for the existing "Cap" at all, but for some new garment destined to dazzle Calcutta in the coming cold weather.

Not many of Marian Hastings' letters seem to have survived, even in the vast store of Hastings MSS. in the British Museum. There the indefatigable "Sydney C. Grier" discovered only two written to her husband and a few addressed to their man of business Richard Johnson, though there are several postcripts in German or English which she added to her husband's letters to her son Charles Imhoff. These, and the amusing All Fools' Day letter which she wrote in 1782 to Major Davy (printed by Prof. Dodwell), all show that she reproduced her High German accent faithfully in her written words. Thus we find "tormant" for dormant and "towry" for dowry, "heart" for heard and "hooga" for huqqa. "Aldered" in the present letter is a good example of this. But though her spelling was shaky in this and in other respects, her style (so far as we can judge from scanty material) was clear, and distinguished by a certain rather attractive archness typical of her period.

I cannot with any certainty identify the person to whom this letter was addressed. As Mrs. Hastings acknowledged on January 26th his letter of the 12th, he was evidently in India, probably somewhere "up the country" in the Bengal Presidency. She had heard from Mr. Hastings that he enjoyed his present situation, which argues that his post was a fairly new one and that he had seen or heard from Hastings recently. Was he perhaps George Bogle, the Governor-General's able protégé who carried out the successful Tibet Mission in 1774-5, becoming in 1779 Collector of Rangpur, where he established a fair to encourage trade with Bhutan and Tibet? He seems a very likely person for Mrs. Hastings to commission to obtain choice furs from the North: she cannot have intended her correspondent to obtain them from Europe, for in that event the skins could hardly have arrived by the next cold weather.

III.

The remaining two documents, a letter and an interrogatory, both relate to a claim by Hastings against the estate of the Hon. Frederick Stuart (or Stewart).

Stuart was born in September 1751, being the third son of the 3rd Earl of Bute. As the letter printed below tells us, he went out to Bengal as a Writer on the Duke of Grafton in1768. Major Hodson informs us that there is a letter (O. C. 28 Dec. 1774, no. 9) from him asking for leave to proceed to England to recruit his health, and requesting an order to embark on the Dutton. He duly sailed in 1775 ; became (according to Burke's Peerage) M. P. for Bute ; and died in Oxford Street, London, on 17 May

1802. Many references to him have appeared in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Preset,* chiefly in the letters of Richard Barwell (1).

Of the other persons whom Hastings mentions, Barwell and Richard Johnson need no introduction to readers of these pages. George Templer (1755—1819) was third son of James Templer of Stover Lodge, Devon, and like Hastings was educated at Westminster, where he was admitted on 10 October 1768 and became a King's Scholar in 1770. He became a member of Lincoln's Inn on 19 November 1770 and entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1773. Retiring in 1785, he was M. P. for Honiton from June 1790 till May 1796. With Richard Johnson (who had returned to England in 1789) he was a partner in the firm of Edwards, Smith, Templer, Middleton, Johnson and Wedgwood, bankers of Pall Mall, who acted as bankers for both Warren and Marian Hastings (2). The firm failed, apparently owing to imprudent speculations on Johnson's part, and Templer at the age of sixty-one went back to Bengal in the hope of making a second fortune. He returned to India on 13th May 1817, and was appointed Commercial Resident at Jangipur ; but died on 20th July 1819.

Daylesford House, 6th May, 1808.

Dear Sir,

My reasons for not making my claim on F. S. while I was in India were, his supposed indigence and vagrancy. The latter was reported to me with circumstances which precluded all hope of payment, either from his ability, or principle: nor could I know where to seek him. I was told he was a monk in some foreign convent. From his family I had no hopes, nor did any respect to them enter into my reasons for not making my application through them. His father had affected to be highly offended at my having been instrumental (though only ostensibly so) to his return to England. After my arrival in England some steps must have been taken by Rd. Johnson, tho' I do not remember them, to find him out ; but the first direct claim was made by Johnson on his Executors soon after his death. From that time I did all that I could do, first through the agency of Mr. Johnson, and lastly by writing to India for the deeds, or notarial copies of the deeds, which established my legal demands upon the estate ; and these I have received, that is, the notarial copies, with a promise of the originals. You will observe that I write today with more confidence than I did yesterday (3). The reason is, that after a less laborious search than I had imposed upon myself, I have found two letters of Johnson's, which established the date of my

(1) See vols. II. 233 ; XII. 196, 205, 228, 229 ; XIII. 85, 90, 290 ; XIV. 246-7 ; XV. 136 ; XVI. 1-11, 14, 79, 215, 218.

(2) S. C. Grier, *Letters of W. Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 204-5.

(3) Perhaps it was the interrogatory that he had written the day before.

first knowledge of Stuart's death, and the fact of my having desired him to lay in my claim on Stuart's property, and of his having actually done it. Ly. Macartney was right, and Chapman in his letter only mistook the year 1802 for 1801.

The following are extracts from the two letters in question:—

1st. P. S. in Johnson's handwriting to a letter from Edwards Templer & Co. dated 29th May 1802 :——"I am sorry to say that F. Stuart is dead——tho' nothing could have been expected from him under his late circumstances But (*sic*) they might have improved by important connections."

2d. "Stratford place 21. Septr. 1802. I did not wait, my dear Sir, for your communics. regarding Mr. Richardson's advertt. to make your claim upon the late F. Stuart. It was done long since, but as there were no assets except a few trifling debts it was not worth troubling you about it. Should any change occur in this prospect you will of course hear from me."

It now appears plainly attested as far as the dates and handwriting of letters can attest it, 1st. that F. S. died about the end of May 1802, 2dly. that I first knew it by R. J.'s lr. of the 29th of that month, but 3rdly. was discouraged from taking any instant steps for reclaiming the money which he owed me by the report communicated at the same time of his insolvency ; 4thly. that about the 20th of Septr. or earlier, I wrote to Mr. Jn. authorizing him to lay in my claim on St.'s estate ; 5thly. that he had done this before the receipt of my letter in consequence, of course, of former instructions from me, and the 3 lrs. from Jn. in your possession prove that a continued communication was kept up between him and Mr. Richardson on the same business, in consequence of which I wrote for and have obtained copies of the bonds. In my Journal I meet with the following minute : "t. 21. Septr. 1802. Yesterday 2 letters written ; to whom forgotten. I wrote to Mr. Johnson", (i.e. yesty.).

As Jn. kept all lrs. rec'd, he has doubtless kept mine, and if they are docketed and tied up apart, it will not be difficult for the person who has them in charge to find mine of the 18th 19th or 20th Septr. 1802. His letters of May & Septr. 1802 I will keep till I go to town, or send to you before, if necy. In the mean time I will prosecute my search after more informations in J's lrs.

Yrs. affly,
W. H.

P.S. I beg the favour of you to send me an account of the dates and amounts of the bonds & note of hand in your possession.

(Addressed in Hastings' hand to George Templer Esqre., No. 34 Pall mall, London. Red circular postmark, May 7, 1808, and black postmark of

Chipping Norton. Docketed "Wn. Hastings May 6 1808". Sealed in red wax with Hastings' arms.)

WARREN HASTINGS Esq.

State the best Account you are able as to the Advance of the Money on the Bonds and Note and for what particular purpose if any *it was advanced.*

I cannot specify either the occasion or times of the several advances of money which were made by me to Mr. Stuart ; neither can I separate their several amounts in my recollection of them. They were made in consequence of his own application, and for the relief of his wants. The only distinct remembrance that I have of any one of them, and that but imperfect, is of the last, or it is possible, of some other of a later date, for which I have no voucher, & for wh. he drew upon me without my authority ; but after some hesitation I paid it.

Do you know when Mr. Stewart was appointed a Writer?

I do not of my own knowledge, but infer only from the time of his leaving England, that it was in 1768. We were fellow passengers to Bengal.

Do you know when Mr. Stewart quitted Bengal, if he did when he returned, and when he left it finally?

I believe he left Bengal in 1775. He never returned to it.

Do you know what became of him, from the time he quitted the Company's Service till the time of his Death, or any period of that time?

I do not. I was told, that he had entered himself in some monastery on the continent, and continued in it long enough to become its cashier ; and this is all I ever heard of him till I was informed by Mr. Rd. Johnson that he was in England ; & that must have been but a very short time before Mr. Stewart's death.

Do you know if Mr. Sanderson had power to borrow money on Mr. Stewart's account and if possible state for what purpose he applied it?

I know not from my own knowledge what power Mr. Sanderson had to borrow money on Mr. S's account.

Do you know where the Bonds & Note have been since they were executed and from

I left them with my Attorneys, Mr. Larkins being the acting one. He left them with Mr. Chapman, &

whence they last came and how and when?

N.B.—Mr. Temple has sent to Mr Chapman for information on th.

Mr. Chapman with Mr. John Palmer, or with the House of Trail & Co. of which Mr. Palmer was a Partner. I wrote to him for notarial copies, & for the originals, to be sent me by different dispatches ; and they were so sent. His letters, which you have, will mark the dates of their several dispatches. The originals arrived about Decr. last. Mr. Leake (?) can better ascertain the precise time of their arrival ; for I wrote to him, I believe, the same day (if it was not on a Saturday) to apprise him of it.

To what I have written in answer to the first question I know [not] whether it is material to add, though it is strictly true, that I had no interest in any of the supplies of money which I made to Mr. Stewart, nor any other motive, but the impulse of that improvident kindness, of which I may say upon this occasion, that he was not the only person that profited by it. He was incapable of affording me personal service by his talents or influence in India ; & he left the country without any persuasion, advice, or object of mine. Indeed at the instance of Mr. Barwell, who thought it would give him a credit with his family, I gave him a letter, or letters, & I think I entrusted him with some dispatches, when he had resolved on going to England from motives, whatever they were, of his own. Possibly I might have expected some return of kindness from his family, & I was entitled to it ; but I am sure I never disclosed such expectation to him, nor could this have entered into my motive for my pecuniary relief that I had afforded him before his departure, the intention of which was unknown to me when it was given.

These, and many other circumstances, which bear a relation to the same general transaction, retain so loose a place on my memory, that I should unwillingly swear to them ; since I could hardly affirm any one of them on better grounds than strong belief.

(Docketed "Warren Hastings Esqre.").

The Sardhana Pictures

AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ALLAHABAD. (1)

An interesting history attaches to seven pictures at Government House, Allahabad, which have been catalogued as follows :

1. The Begam Samru
(8 ft. 3 in. × 6 ft. 6 in.)
2. David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre
(7 ft. 10 in. × 5 ft. 6 in.)
3. General Allard
(3 ft. 3 in. × 3 ft. 10 in.)
4. Sir Charles Metcalfe
(3 ft. 9 in. × 3 ft.)
For reasons which will be indicated hereafter, it is not possible to accept this description.
5. Viscount Combermere
(3 ft. 9 in. × 3 ft.)
6. Colonel Robbert Stuart
(3 ft. × 2 ft. 8 in.)
7. Presentation by the Begam of a Chalice to the Bishop and Clergy at Sardhana. (6 ft. × 7 ft. 8 in.)

These paintings formed part of a collection which used to hang in the principal reception rooms of the Palace of the famous Begam Samru at Sardhana. On the Begam's death in 1836 the jagir held by her lapsed to the East India Company, but the Palace and a vast fortune passed to David Ochterlony Dyce, whom she had designated as her heir and who assumed the additional surname of Sombre. He was the grandson of a certain Lieutenant David Dyce of the Bengal European Regiment, who died at an early age at Calcutta on February 26, 1790, leaving a son. This boy, George Alexander David Dyce, whose mother was an Indian lady, was brought up at the Military Orphan School at Calcutta, and acted for many years as agent for the Begam's estates, assuming the titles of Colonel and General, although he is not known to have seen any military service. It is said that Sir David Ochterlony (1758-1825), who is buried in St. John's churchyard at Meerut, selected him as a suitable match for Julia Anna (Begam Sahiba), the daughter of Louis Balthasar Reinhardt, otherwise known as Nawab Zafar Yab Khan, who was the son of the Begam's husband,

(1) Prepared for private circulation at the request of Sir Malcolm Hailey and published at the Government Press, Allahabad in 1934.



THE BEGAM SAMRU
(From the Picture at Government House, Allahabad).

Walter Reinhardt (nicknamed Sombre from his swarthy complexion), by a Muhammadan lady. His connection with Sardhana certainly began with his marriage, and he called his son (who was born in 1808) David Ochterlony after his patron. He died at Calcutta on April 4, 1838, at the age of 50. The Begam had already taken charge of the boy and his two sisters, Georgina and Anna Maria, whom she married on the same day in 1831 to Baron Solaroli, an Italian officer in her service, and Captain John Rose Troup, of the Bengal Army, respectively.

The career of David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre was as remarkable as the romance which Jules Verne based upon the Begam's fortune and which he named Les Cinq Cents Millions de la Begum (2). Coming to England, he was elected Member of Parliament for Sudbury in 1841, but was almost immediately unseated for bribery. In the previous year (September, 1840) he had married the Hon. Mary Anne Jervis, a daughter of the second Viscount St. Vincent. Not long afterwards, he developed such eccentricities that he was adjudged to be insane by a lunacy panel appointed by the Lord Chancellor. Escaping from restraint, he made his way to Paris where he arrived in September, 1843. Here he remained for the next six years, publishing in 1849 a "Refutation" of the charges brought against him—an extremely rare book of 502 pages, of which there is a copy in the George Lyell Library at the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. In 1851 he was permitted to return to London in order to lodge an appeal, but on July 1, shortly after his arrival, he was suddenly taken ill and died at the age of 43.

He had, by a will made in 1849, disinherited his wife and his two sisters, the Baroness Solaroli and Mrs. Troup, and left his property to the East India Company. Prolonged litigation followed, and it was not until 1856 that a final decision was given in favour of the relatives. Six years later (1862) his widow married the Rt. Hon. George Forester, who had been Comptroller of the Queen's Household and who succeeded to the family peerage as third Baron Forester in 1874. Upon Lady Forester's death without issue on March 7, 1893, the Palace and its contents, and the adjoining garden, were sold by auction. The building and garden were purchased by the Roman Catholic Mission at Agra. Seven of the paintings were bought on behalf of the Government of the North-Western Provinces : and these are now at Government House, Allahabad.

Two contemporary accounts of the art collection at Sardhana are to be found in the volumes of the Calcutta Review. The first was written by Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., in 1880 (Vol. LXX, pp. 459-460). Mr. Keene

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(2) The legend of the Begam's millions persists. The late Mr. Henry Beveridge wrote in the Calcutta Review for October, 1880 (p. 371): "Not long ago there was a sensational trial at Innsbruck where a nobleman was found guilty of cheating some Tyrolese by inducing them to believe that they were descended from Reinhardt and entitled to share in his wealth." Similar frauds in South Germany were exposed in 1912, 1923, and 1930, but the ghost is not yet laid. Claims continue to be received at the India Office, and the latest depelopment has taken the form of a forged letter, purporting to be signed by the Superintendent of Records and offering a settlement on behalf of the Secretary of State.

(1825-1915) who entered the Bengal Civil Service from Haileybury in 1847, was Judge of Meerut and retired in 1882 :

"The Palace or Dilkusha Kothi stands in a vast enclosed garden and is raised upon a basement 11 feet in height. The portico looks north and the landing of the staircase projects. Parallel to the projection is a hall, 42 feet by 36 feet, from which the various apartments open on three sides. A winding staircase leads to the Begam's private chamber, while a smaller staircase leads to somewhat similar rooms on the other side. At the back a courtyard now turned into a garden contains minor suites. The whole facade is about 160 feet in height and opens on four principal sitting rooms besides the central hall. There are bedrooms in rear.

Of these rooms the central and eastern contain some five and twenty oil paintings of various dates and different degrees of merit. Beginning with the eastern extremity, which we will call saloon No. 1, the first is an enormous equestrian portrait of Sir David Ochterlony, firmly and boldly designed and painted. This picture came from Delhi where it hung in the Begam's house, now the Delhi and London Bank (3), and is probably the work of Beechey—an artist of local celebrity, who lived at Lucknow in the early part of the century.

Turning to the left we find a life size half-length of General Cartwright, long the Father of the Bengal Army. Next came Baron Solaroli and Colonel J. R. Troup, the husbands of Dyce Sombre's sisters, each of whom got £20,000 under the Begam's will. Over the mantelpiece is a full length of Dyce Sombre in a sort of Court dress with the insignia of the Papal Order of Christ. This was painted at Rome and possesses the technical dexterity of the modern Roman School; the head is highly idealized. It is flanked by some small prints, out of place at such an elevation, and among them is a curious stiff coloured drawing, apparently by an Indian, in which the Begam is represented receiving Lord Combermere after the fall of Bhurtpore. On the next and last side of the room hang half-lengths of General Ventura and General Allard, officers in the service of Ranjit Singh of Lahore who helped to make the "Khalsa" army which gave Lord Gough so much trouble. The last is Father John Murray, once incumbent of the Church.

In saloon No. 3 are a small full length of the Lord Combermere, with half-lengths of General Lawton, Father Julius Caesar, afterwards Bishop, Colonel Stuart, Bengal Artillery, Colonel R. Boileau, Bengal Artillery, Dr. Thomas Drever (mis-spelt Driver on the frame) and one labelled as "Sir Charles, afterwards Lord Metcalfe," which is probably that of his brother, formerly Commissioner of Delhi.

(3) In the Chandni Chauk, now occupied by the Imperial Bank of India. On the roof of an adjoining outhouse Mr. George Berresford, Manager of the Delhi Bank, desperately defended himself and his family on May 11, 1857.

The central hall, opposite the entrance, has in the centre a large portrait of the Begam, life size, seated on a sort of Throne and smoking the hookah. This is an ambitious piece of colouring, not too well finished, by an artist of Delhi named Melville, who also painted the pictures of Troup and Solaroli in No. 1. Next to the Begam hangs a well-painted head of a debauched looking man in a Kincob dress with a skull cap thrown over the left brow. This is John Thomas, son of the famous George Thomas, who left his family to the care of the Begam when he was overthrown by the Mahrattas under Bourquien in 1800. The next picture is that of John Thomas's father-in-law, Aga Wanus. (4) Then comes a small daub representing Derridon, who held a command at Aligarh under Perron, whose daughter he married. (5) Then came two groups, one showing Dyce Sombre as a child in the Begam's presence, the other the Begam offering a chalice to the Church. Then comes Major Reghelini, by whom both Church and Palace were designed; then half-lengths of General Ochterlony and Dyce Sombre. All these pictures, as well as such of the remainder as have not been attributed to other artists, are said to be by Jiwan Ram, a very celebrated Indian artist." (6)

The second description was contributed to the *Calcutta Review* in April, 1894 (p. 312), by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, who was then Chaplain at Meerut :

"In the large drawing room, facing you as you enter, is a picture of the Begam, sitting in her chair of state with her favourite hookah by her side. On the opposite side is one of the Begam presenting a chalice to the clergy of Sardhana, and to the right of that is a curious picture of the Begam and Dyce Sombre as a boy. The Begam has a perfectly white face, and she is holding her hookah. The only other picture of interest in the room is that of "John Thomas, in the service of Her Highness during Mr. Dyce Sombre's lifetime", a ruffian in Indian costume who is buried in the neglected cemetery hard by.

In the smaller drawing room to the left are various pictures, among them one of Dr. Thomas Driver (sic). In the end room of all are two very large and well painted pictures, one of General Sir D. Ochterlony, Mr. Dyce Sombre's godfather and the other of Mr. Dyce Sombre painted at Rome. Underneath this last are three engravings autographed : "The Right Hon'ble Edward Jervis, Viscount St. Vincent, 1856," "D. O. Dyce Sombre, Esq.," and "The Hon'ble M. Dyce Sombre", with the following in Lady Forester's handwriting, "To be placed in one of the rooms at Sardhana between

(4) An Armenian in the Begam's service.

(5) This is incorrect. Perron's first wife was Derridon's sister.

(6) The portrait of Sir David Ochterlony at the Victoria Memorial Hall is the work of Jiwan Ram.

the engravings of my husband and father : M. A. Dyce Sombre." There is also a painting in this room of Father Julius Cæsar, first and last Bishop of Sardhana : and a very curious one representing the Begam and the British officers at Bhurtpore. In this picture Lord Combermere has his head at right angles to his shoulders, and the Begam has a white face, all the others, who are European, having dark ones."

The best known of the pictures in the Allahabad collection is the portrait (No. 1) of the BEGAM SAMRU herself, which has been reproduced upon more than one occasion. (7) The old lady is represented seated in an arm-chair with a hookah by her side. It is the only picture in the collection to which (upon the authority of Keene) the name of an artist can definitely be assigned. The painter was a certain William Melville who practised his profession at Delhi. He had come out to India in 1815 to join the great Calcutta mercantile house of Ferguson and Company, and served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1832. The firm of which he became a partner in 1826 failed in 1833 with liabilities amounting to three and a half millions sterling : and Melville went "up the country" and took to portrait painting as a means of livelihood. One of his sitters was certainly Colonel James Skinner, C. B., the famous "Sekunder Sahib," who died at Hansi in 1841 and lies buried in the church at Delhi which was built by him. It is stated in the Dictionary of National Biography (1879) that a likeness of him was the property of his grand-daughter, and this is probably the picture which was engraved as the frontispiece to James Baillie Fraser's biography (1851). The portrait at the India Office would seem to be a replica ; and it is understood that there is another in the officers' mess of Skinner's Horse. In 1843 Melville was at Simla, for a miniature in oils by him which belongs to Dr. J. Adam Law, is signed and dated to that effect. (8) That is the last trace of him. The second picture in the catalogue is a portrait of Dyce Sombre "in a sort of Court dress with the Insignia of the Papal Order of Christ." According to Keene, it was painted at Rome by an Italian artist ; and that is all that is known about it. While at Rome in 1839, Dyce Sombre ordered a solemn mass in memory of the Begam to be celebrated in the Church of San Carlo on the Corso. The fact is worth recalling, for the funeral oration was pronounced by a young English priest, Father Nicholas Wiseman, who subsequently became Cardinal Archbishop of Westminister. (9)

General Jean Francois Allard (No. 3) has been deprived of the company of his associate Jean Baptiste Ventura, whose portrait has not been traced. They came out to India together in 1822, arriving on March 23, at

(7) Indian Historical Records Commission, sixth report (1924, p. 96) ; *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 201 ; *Begam Samru*, by Brajendranath Banerji (Calcutta, 1925, frontispiece).

(8) Sir William Foster's *British Artists in India*, 1760-1820 (Walpole Society, Vol. XIX, 1931 : p. 60).

(9) Maurice Besson, *Les Aventuriers Franca is aux Indes*, pp. 105-106.

Lahore, and took service with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Both had fought in the French Army at Waterloo, Allard as a Captain of Cuirassiers. There are many references to him in contemporary literature ; but for a description of his personal appearance we must turn to Miss Emily Eden who met him at Calcutta on December 6, 1836. She writes from Barrackpore : (10)

> "George (Lord Auckland) and his household are all at Calcutta. He gave a dinner yesterday to General Allard, Ranjit Singh's General and Jacquemont's friend, who came out again last week to join his master. He called on us the morning we left Calcutta with all his staff and the officers of the French ship which brought him out, and we tried to put our best French forward.
>
> Allard wears an immensely long beard of which he makes two wings that he is always stroking and making much of ; and I was dead absent all the time he was there because his wings are beautiful white hair and his moustachios and the middle of his beard quite black. He looked like a piebald horse."

The Allahabad picture reproduces only one of the peculiarities which Miss Eden noticed. The curious forked beard is there, but there is no sign of a difference in the colour of the hair. This is very apparent, however, in a sketch preserved in the Musée du Vieux Toulon.

Allard had obtained leave of absence from Ranjit Singh in 1834, and had sailed on June 15, from Calcutta with his wife and children. He returned alone, bringing a large consignment of arms, cuirasses, pistols, carbines, and other ammunitions, the outlay on which had so exhausted his funds that he was obliged to obtain a loan of Rs. 40,000 from the Government of India to enable him to send them up-country. (11) He died of heart failure at Peshawar on January 23, 1839, at the age of 54 and, in accordance with his last request, was buried at Lahore. The little mausoleum, which contains his body and that of his daughter stands on an old brick kiln mound in the grounds of Kapurthala House which was his own residence. Major-General William Barr (1812—1876), who had just arrived in Lahore, tells us (12) of a number of pictures in his "Country house":

"The residence is decorated inside and out with paintings of dragoons, foot soldiers, and lancers, half as large as life. The wide verandahs have the same display of paintings. . . . Allard's portrait bespeaks him a man of firmness and decision of character, and a handsome and benevolent man. He wore a uniform somewhat resembling that of our Horse Artillery, with two Orders, one being the Legion of Honour and Ranjit's new Order (of the Punjab). In another picture were the pretty faces of his Kashmiri wife and his children who were dressed in the costume of the country and drew the admiration of all."

(10) *Letters from India* (1872): Vol. I, p. 262.

(11) Punjab Records, Book No. 118, Letter No. 92: quoted in Grey and Garrett's *European Adventurers of Northern India* (1929: p. 89).

(12) *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar* in 1839 (1844: p. 83).

Allard is wearing the two crosses in the Allahabad picture. He was also a Chevalier of the Royal Order of Spain, an ephemeral decoration instituted by Joseph Bonaparte, under whom he served as Sergeant-Major of his body-guard.

Of Jewan Ram, who is named by Keene as a possible painter of this and other pictures, Miss Emily Eden writes in one of her letters *Up the Country* (Meerut, February 13, 1838): "There is a native here, Juan Ram, who draws beautifully sometimes and sometimes wholly fails, but his picture of William (Osborne, Lord Auckland's aide-de-camp, and author of the Court of Ranjit Singh) is quite perfect. It was so admired that I got a sketch of G. (Lord Auckland) on cardboard which is also an excellent likeness."

The picture (No. 4) which is catalogued as a portrait of Sir Charles Metcalfe, bears not the smallest resemblance to any of the known portraits of that distinguished administrator. Two of these are to be seen at Calcutta, in the Victoria Memorial Hall and at Belvedere--and both of them are copied from F. R. Say's picture at the Oriental Club in London.(13) Another portrait by J. J. Masquerier is at Eton, and another is in the Town Hall at Kingston (Jamaica). It is quite true that Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe was Resident at Delhi from 1811 to 1819 and again in 1825, and Governor of the short-lived Presidency of Agra from November, 1834 to March 1835. But the features of the subject of the picture are not his : and it is impossible to accept the ascription. Keene's conjecture is that the portrait represents Lord Metcalfe's younger brother, Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (1795—1853) who succeeded him as fourth baronet in 1846. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1812 and was Resident at Delhi when he died at that place on November 3, 1853. The clue thus given by Keene has been followed up owing to the kindness of Lady Chapman, the widow of General Sir Edward Francis Chapman, who has favoured the writer with a photograph of a miniature of her grandfather, painted in 1826. An evident similarity can be traced between the young man of the miniature and the elder man of the Begam's picture : there is the same nose of unusual length, and the eyes have much in common.

The portrait of Lord Combermere (No. 5) appears to be either an adaptation, or a copy, of the large painting at the Bengal Club, Calcutta, which can be assigned definitely to George Beechey.(14) There are many points of resemblance and also certain differences. Both are full length portraits: and in both the figure is that of a tall man, which the "Little Cotton" of the Peninsular War certainly was not. The uniform likewise is identical, with three stars and the ribbon of an order. On the other hand,

(13) Say's picture was painted in 1843 and engraved by F. C. Lewis, senior, in 1846. It is reproduced in A. F. Baillie's book on *The Oriental Club* (1901 : p. 97).

(14) *Calcutta Gazette*, January 4, 1930: quoted by Sir William Foster in an article on George Beechey in *Bengal: Past and Present* (1931 : Vol. XLI, p. 101). The portrait is there reproduced and also in Mr. Justice Panckridge's *Short History of the Bengal Club* (1927 : privately printed, p. 7).



PRESENTATION BY THE BEGAM OF CHALICE TO THE BISHOP AND CLERGY AT SARDHANA.
(From the Picture at Government House, Allahabad).

there is no horse in the Allahabad picture, and the right hand instead of resting on the withers of the charger is hanging down and holding a cocked hat of which the plume is trailing on the ground. In the Allahabad picture, moreover, the left hand is merely placed on the sword-hilt, whereas in the Calcutta picture it is also holding the cocked hat. Again, while the similarity in the features is remarkable, Lord Combermere looks older in the Allahabad picture, and yet in neither is he like the man of fifty-seven which he was in 1830 (he was born in 1773 and died in 1865). The most outstanding difference is in the attitude. In the Bengal Club painting he is looking to the left ; in the Government House picture he is turning to the right. If the latter is by Beechey, it is more of an adaptation than a replica.

There was every reason why Lord Combermere should find a place in the Begam's picture-gallery. He was Commander-in-Chief in India from October 7, 1825, to January 1, 1830 ; and when he was successfully besieging Bharatpur in 1826, the Begam was most anxious to take the field with him. She was told that she would be left in charge of Muttra, whereupon she replied, "Nonsense ; if I do not go to Bhurtpore, all Hindustan will say I am grown a coward in my old age."(15) Again, when Combermere was on tour in the Upper Provinces in 1828, he dined with the Begam at Sardhana on February 19.(16)

George Duncan Beechey (1798—1852) was a son of Sir William Beechey, R. A., the well-known portrait-painter, and came out to Calcutta in 1828. After some years he migrated to Lucknow where he appears to have succeeded Robert Home as court painter to the King of Oudh : and there he died on October 17, 1852. His house in the Residency compound was known during the siege of 1857 as the Judicial Garrison of Germon's Post ; it is situated between Anderson's Post and the Post Office Garrison. He had another house in the (now deserted) cantonment of Mariaon, where he died and which was haunted by him, according to the Reverend H. S. Polehampton who was living in it when the Mutiny broke out.(17)

Portraits of Sir William Sleeman and his wife by Beechey (the latter painted in June, 1851) hung on the walls of the Residency and survived the siege : they were cut out of their frames by a military officer before the evacuation and are now in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. Sleeman, the grandson of Sir William.

In her letter *Up the Country* (1930 edition, p. 387) Miss Emily Eden writes under date of February 2, 1840 : "Mr. Beechey, the painter at Lucknow, sent me to-day a miniature of G (Lord Auckland) done by a native from his picture. It is a shocking caricature but a very little would

(15) *Tours in Upper India*, by Major Archer, aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere (1835 : Vol. I, p. 166 note).

(16) *Tour in India*, by Captain G. C. Mundy, another aid-de-camp (3rd edition, 1858, p. 52).

(17) *Letters and Diaries* (2nd edition, 1858, p. 236). See also the portrait of Maharaja Duleep Singh by Beechy reproduced in Vol. XLVIII of *Bengal Past and Present* (opp. p. 31) Beechy likewise painted a portrait of Sir John Low which was destroyed in the siege of the Lucknow Residency.

make it like . . . . Mr. Beechey says he has sent me the original sketch in oils to Calcutta. It was an excellent picture, and I hope he has not touched it up."

There are several portraits of members of the Tagore family by Beechey in the collection at Calcutta of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, Kt., K.C.I.E., but they are wrongly attributed to his father, who never came to India. A group of himself, with his Indian wife Husaini Begam and a child, may be seen in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta, together with a portrait of Dr. John Adam (1793-1830) which was originally painted for the Medical and Physical Society of Bengal. There is reason to believe also that the portrait of Sir John Peter Grant (1774-1848), the Judge, which hangs in the High Court at Bombay, is his work : it was certainly painted at Calcutta in 1830.

It is much to be regretted that the "enormous equestrian portrait" of Sir David Ochterlony, which Keene ascribes to him and which came from the Begam's house at Delhi, has disappeared.

A remarkable episode is connected with the portrait (No. 6) of Colonel Robert Stuart. Stuart was admitted as an infantry cadet on the Bengal establishment of the Company's army on June 4, 1764, at the age of twenty. In April, 1791, being then a Lieutenant-Colonel, he was serving at the frontier station of Anupshahr. As he was riding one morning he was taken prisoner by the Sikh Chief, Bhanga Singh, and was kept in custody until the end of October, when the Begam, at the request of Major William Palmer, the Resident at the Court of Sindhia, obtained his release upon payment of a ransom of Rs. 15,000. His arrival at Sardhana was attended by much ceremony : for the Begam went out for a distance of two miles to meet him. The amount of the ransom was refunded to her from the Company's treasury, and the Governor-General formally thanked her for her "laudable exertions."(18)

It is not known when the portrait was painted or by whom : but Stuart subsequently commanded the Fatehgarh detachment and was sent in 1799 from Lucknow with a small force "to the foot of the Nepal mountains" in pursuit of Wazir Ali, after the murder of Mr. Cherry at Benares. After his retirement in 1803, he was promoted to be Lieutenant-General and died at Perth on February 18, 1820, leaving a son, Kenneth Bruce Stuart (1783-1832), who was for some time a Captain in the Mahratta service : and who devised the estate of Annat in Perthshire, which his father had purchased, to his daughter by his second wife and her husband, the Reverend Alex. Moody, who assumed the name of Moody-Stuart. A portrait of the "Kidnapped Colonel" is still preserved by the Moody-Stuart family at Annat. By his first wife Captain Kenneth Bruce Stuart had a son, named after him, who practised for many years as a medical man in Calcutta.

(18) This was not the only occasion upon which the Begam ransomed a captured British Officer. In October, 1804, Saharanpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs and Mr George Guthrie, the Collector, was taken prisoner by Sher Singh. The Begam at once took steps to procure his release.

The Begam, who was by birth a Kashmiri, was received into the Roman Catholic Church after the death of her husband, Walter Reinhardt (Sombre or Samru) in 1778. "The Cathedral Church of St. Mary" at Sardhana was built by her in 1820 after the model of St. Peter's at Rome and cost four lakhs of rupees. It was consecrated two years later, as an inscription over the central door testifies. In 1831 she presented the Pope, Gregory XVI, with a lakh and a half of rupees: and her chaplain, Father Scotti (also known as Father Julius Cæsar) was created Bishop of Amathunta *in partibus infidelium*. The picture (No. 7) of the presentation of the chalice commemorates one of her numerous donations. (19)

The incident is reproduced on the front panel of the elaborate monument over the tombs of the Begam and Dyce Sombre in the church, which was executed in Carrara marble by Adamo Tadolini of Bologna, a follower of Canova. Bishop Julius Cæsar, robbed in pontifical vestments and seated on the faldstool, is receiving a gold chalice from the hands of the Begam herself, who advances surrounded by her chief European Officers.

THE PICTURES AT OXFORD

This brief account would not be complete without some reference to other pictures from Sardhana which have found their way to the Indian Institute at Oxford. On August 20, 1912, Mr. T. R. Wyer, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, informed Lord Curzon that when Collector of Meerut in 1894, he had bought most of the Begam's pictures "after the best and most valuable had been acquired for Government House, Allahabad." He gave the following list of the pictures which were then in his possession: (1) General Cartwright, (2) Major Reghelini, (3) Drever, (4) Colonel Lawton, (5) Father Julius Cæsar, (6) Quartermaster Rogers, (7) Father John Murray, Roman Catholic Priest at Sardhana, and (8) Major Louis Derridon. He names also two small pictures, one of George Thomas and the other of "Zumrood Ali Khan Sheedee." In a further letter written to Lord Curzon on January 29, 1913, Mr. Wyer stated that he had sent the pictures to Sotheby's for sale by auction. They failed to attract a purchaser and Mr. Wyer then presented them to the Indian Institute.

From a list which has been supplied by Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I., lately University Reader in Indian History, the picture of Father John Murray is absent and its place is taken by a portrait of "General Fraser." The two small pictures are also not included in the list.

The following particulars are available regarding the persons represented :

(1) Lieutenant-General (Edmund) Cartwright (1778-1853) Colonel of the 57th Bengal Infantry, whose career in the Bengal Army extended over fifty-two years and who died in London on March 31, 1863.

(19) The Begam also gave Rs. 50,000 to the Archibishop of Canterbury for charitable purposes : and by a deed of gift in 1834 conveying a lakh and a half to the Bishop of Calcutta established the Begam Samru Trust. She subscribed liberally likewise to Hindu and Musalman institutions.

(2) Major Antonio Reghelini, an Italian from Padua in the Begam's service, "Architect of the Cathedral and Palace."

(3) Dr. Thomas Drever, a surgeon on the Bengal establishment, "physician to Her Highness and Mr. Dyce Sombre's faithful friend : one of the best and most honest of men": he died at Glasgow on January 1, 1857.

(4) "Colonel Lawton," whom it has been impossible to trace.

(5) Father Julius Cæsar (Mgr. Scotti), the Begam's Chaplain : of whom mention has already been made.

(6) "Quartermaster Rogers", probably identical with a certain Lieutenant Jacob Rogers of Sindhia's service, to whom a small pension was granted by the East India Company in 1803 and who died at Mirzapur in 1824.

(7) "General Fraser," who may be the Major-General Henry Fraser, a King's Officer, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Deig on November 13, 1804, and is buried in the cantonment cemetery at Muttra.(20)

(8) Major Louis Derridon, a Frenchman of mixed blood from Pondicherry, in Sindhia's service, whose sister was the first wife of General Perron and who was similarly related to Colonel John Hessing. He was at Agra when the fort was captured by Lake in 1804 : and is mentioned by Fanny Parks as living at Koil (Aligarh) in 1838 "in a house formerly the property of General Perron." According to the *Aligarh Gazetteer* (p. 207), Perron made over to Derridon the village of Bhamola, now part of Aligarh cantonment, which was exchanged in 1821 for other property revenue free. On the death of Derridon in 1845, the estate was divided among his heirs, who were living at Agra and who have since parted with most of it. Mr. and Mrs. Derridon were killed at Agra in 1857. Louis Derridon married Ellen Pedron, a daughter of Colonel E. Pedron, "Killadar of Allygurh." Their child Madeleine married, as his second wife, Richard Rocke Sturt (B.C.S. 1827-1854) : and after his death at Monghyr in 1854, settled at Fatehgarh. She was one of the very few who escaped from that place in 1857, and died at Agra in 1859.

MISSING PICTURES

In the second edition of Murray's *Handbook to India* (1894, p. 194), the account of Sardhana contains the following : "There are portraits (in the Dilkhusha Kothi or Palace) of the Begam and her friends. In one she is represented smoking with Dyce Sombre as a child beside her. Also of George Thomas, General Ochterlony, Sir C. Metcalfe, Colonel Boileau, General Ventura, and the Begam's butler."

The last-named must be the small picture of "Zumrood Ali Khan Sheedee" named in Mr. Wyer's list. As we have seen, it was not presented to the Indian Institute. Of more importance is the disappearance of the water colour painting of George Thomas, the Irish sailor who was for a time in the Begam's service and then created a principality for himself at Hansi. Mr. Wyer informed Lord Curzon that it lay for many years

(20) He is mentioned in the *Memoirs of William Hicky* (Vol. IV pp. 294, 304). There was a certain Lieutenant James Lovat Fraser in the Begam's service who died in 1821 : but there is no record of his assumption of the rank of General, and nothing else is known of him.

in an underground room of the Sardhana Palace: and it would seem that it was used as a frontispiece for Francklin's life—a rare book of which there is a copy in the Lyell Library at the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

The portrait of "Colonel R. Boileau, Bengal Artillery," is also mentioned by Keene. Possibly this is the picture at Oxford which is stated to represent a mysterious "Colonel Lawton". But the Boileau of the period who was serving in the Bengal Artillery was Major-General Francis Burton Boileau (1806-1888) : he took part in Lord Combermere's siege and capture of Bharatpur, and this may supply a reason for his presence in the Begam's collection, although he was a newly-joined subaltern of three years' service at the time. There was also a Captain Lieutenant Solomon Henry Richard Boileau who fought at Deig and Laswari, and who died at Partabgarh on April 11, 1810; but he was a cavalry officer.

Among the interesting pictures which are missing is the painting of Dyce Sombre as a child with the Begam. We can imagine what it was like from the vivid description Mrs. Sherwood has given(21) of her reception by the Begam at Meerut in 1813:

> "On Easter Sunday the Begum Somru came with her camels and set up her tents in the plain between our house and Mr. Parson's. She then sent her usual present of rose-water to certain of our ladies, which was a hint that we were to pay our compliments. Accordingly I went with others of the officers' wives taking with me my two little girls. We were ushered into the principal tent where Her Highness sat on a musnud, her shrivelled person being almost lost in Cashmere shawls and immense cushions of a quinquab. Her superb hookah was set ready to one hand, and her glittering paunbox to the other, while very little of her person but her remarkedly plain face was visible. Behind her on the cushions was perched David Dyce, the son of her daughter's husband, a child of five or six years of age, in a full court suit, coat, waistcoat and shirt of crimson satin with a sword dangling to his side and cocked hat."

A regrettable loss is also the head and shoulders portrait of George Thomas's son John, described by Mr. Dyer as "a ruffian in Indian costume," and by Keene as "a debauched looking man in a Kincob dress with a skull cap thrown over the left brow." Gone, too, is the likeness of his Armenian father-in-law, Aga Wanus : and a similar fate has overtaken the half-lengths of Dyce Sombre and Sir David Ochterlony. Nor is it possible to say what has happened to the "curious painting" of the Begam receiving Lord Combermere and his staff after the fall of Bharatpur. As for the portraits of Solaroli and Troup, they are no doubt in the possession of their families. At any rate, none are at Sardhana: there is definite information on that point from the Collector of Meerut. Perhaps the publication of the present article may lead to the discovery of some of them in private hands.

EVAN COTTON.

(21) *Life of Mrs. Sherwood,* pp. 482-483.

The Calcutta Cricket Club : Its Origin and Development.

PART I.

To see how cricket the great national game of the English originated in Bengal, and to understand the widespread popularity which it has attained in India amongst the Indians, one has to look back as far as the year 1804, which is a notable landmark in the history of Cricket in Calcutta, witnessing as I believe the first organised cricket match played there.

In connection with a review of earlier cricket in Calcutta the readers may find it interesting to know that the first mention of cricket played in India can be found in Clement Downing's *A Compendious History of the Indian Wars* (London 1737), where Downing writes " . . . . . . When my boat was lying for a fortnight (in 1721) in some channel of the Gulf of Cambay, though the country was inhabited by the *Culeys*, we every day diverted ourselves with playing Cricket and to other Exercises, which they would come and be spectators of . . . . . . " (See also *Bengal: Past and Present* Vol. XXXIV, 68-69).

From the old archives we find that with the ushering in of the 19th century the Company's Civil Servants in Bengal organised the first formal cricket match in Calcutta. It was between the old Eton boys and the rest, and it was played, to the great amazement of the Indian public, on the green before the present Government House on the 18th and 19th January 1804.(1)

The names of the participants in this contest, with its result, and a short account of their respective services in Bengal, (2) which are given below, will, it is hoped, be of interest to the members of the present Calcutta Cricket Club, for it is reasonable to assume that this cricket match of 1804 led to the foundation of the first Cricket Club in Calcutta, and thus may well be regarded as the embryo of the present Calcutta Cricket Club.

CRICKET. (3)

"On the 18th and 19th instant was played a grand Match of Cricket between the Etonians, Civil Servants of the Company, and all other Civil

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(1) *Bengal: Past and Present* Vol. XXXIV, page, 69.

(2) *List of Bengal Civil Servants:* By Dodwell & Miles, 1839.

(3) Calcutta Gazette, 26th January, 1804.

Servants of the Company resident in Calcutta ; which was won by the former in one Innings by 152 runs :—

ETONS.

Metcalfe, major	b.	Walpole	22
Lushington	b.	Money	7
Trant	b.	Money	35
Vansittart	b.	Money	102
Bayley	b.	Newnham	27
Saunders	c.	Walpole	6
Trower	b.	Money	0
Metcalfe, minor	not out		13
Gardiner	c.	Money	0
Christian	b.	Walpole	3
Chapman	b.	Walpole	0
		Byes	17
		Total	232

CALCUTTA.

	1st Innings.		2nd Innings.	
Walpole	b. Vansittart	1	run out	6
Money	c. Chapman	4	b. Bayley	0
Puller	run out	2	b. Vansittart	1
Mitford	b. Vansittart	0	c. Metcalfe, major	1
Tippet	b. Vansittart	0	not out	4
Impey	b. Saunders	13	run out	1
W. Bird	b. Vansittart	6	hit Wicket	15
Rees	b. Vansittart	4	b. Bayley	1
Plowden	c. Metcalfe, major	0	b. Trant	4
Newnham	b. Vansittart	0	c. Metcalfe, minor	1
Fortescue	not out	6	b. Bayley	3
	Byes	4	Byes	3
	Total	40	Total	40

2 to 1 against Eton at starling."

ETONIANS.

METCALFE (minor) and Metcalfe (major)—Metcalfe (minor) is no doubt the late Lord Metcalfe, and Metcalfe (major) is his brother Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, 2nd Bart. (1783—1822).

CHARLES METCALFE was in Calcutta all through the year 1803, and the earlier part of 1804. (4) Metcalfe, major, and Metcalfe, minor, had been among Goodall's favourite pupils. The elder brother was married to Miss Selina Sophia Russell, niece of Sir H. Russell, Judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, on the 1st March 1804.(5)

LUSHINGTON—Charles Lushington was the grandson of Dr. Lushington, and third son of Stephen Lushington who was Chairman of the Court of Directors of the E. I. C. in 1790, M.P. for the Cornish borough of Helston and Penryn, and was created a baronet in 1791. Charles's mother was Hester, daughter of John Boldero.(6) Charles (born 14 April 1785) was in the Bengal Civil Service from Oct. 13, 1800 to Nov. 15, 1828. Private Secy. to the Governor General, Jan. 13, 1823 ; Chief Secy. to Govt. Dec. 1, 1825. Retired on the Annuity Fund from Nov. 16, 1828 ; and later M.P. for Ashburton and Westminister. He was not only a cricketer but was an author also. He published in 1824 through the Hindostanee Press a History of Religious and Charitable Institutions in Calcutta, and dedicated it to John Adam his Private Secretary. He died on 23 Sept. 1866. (For the genealogy of the Lushington Family in India, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, pp. 180-81).

TRANT—William Henry Trant. Arrived as Writer in Bengal Nov. 1, 1798 ; and was in Bengal Civil Service from Nov. 1, 1798 to 1819. Member of the Board of Commissioners Oct. 17, 1817 ; Acting Member of the Board of Revenue 1819. At Home 1820. (Out of service in 1824: died before 1839).

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BAYLEY—William Butterworth Bayley (born 1782) son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley ; educated at Eton and Cambridge ; Bengal Civil Service from Nov. 1, 1798 to July 4, 1828. Arrived as Writer in Bengal Nov. 1, 1798 ; Assistant in the Governor-General's Office, and in the Office of the Persian Translator to Government April 4, 1803 ; Deputy Register Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut Feb. 18, 1805 ; Depy.-Register and Translator to do. do Sep. 19, 1805 ; Persian and Hindostanee Translator to Commissioners for Superintending Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, June 22, 1807 ; Register to Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut Dec. 15,

(4) See J. W. Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. I, page 79 and Vol. II, page 3.

(5) Do. Vol. I, page 85.

(6) *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, p. 181.

1807; Judge and Magistrate of Dacca Jelalpore June 19, 1809; Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan June 15, 1810; Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal, Bareilly, April 19, 1814; Provincial Court of Appeal, Dacca May 13, 1814; Offg. Secy. in the Revenue and Judl. departments Dec. 28, 1814; Secy. in the Revenue and Judl. departments Aug. 30, 1815; Chief Secreary to Govt. January 29, 1819; Member of the Presidency Records Committee 1821; Member of the Committee of Superintendence of the Hindoo College which was established in Calcutta on the 21st of Feb. 1821; Member of the Supreme Council (Actg.) Feb. 25, 1822; Chief Secy. to Govt. and Secy. Rev. and Judl. depts., 1823; Member of the General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta, which was formed in July 1823 for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in the territories under the Bengal Presidency, and of the public institutions designed for its purpose; (7) Member of the Supreme Council Nov. 11, 1825; Officiated as Governor General from March to July 1828; President Board of Trade July 4, 1828; Vice President and Deputy Governor of Bengal, 15 Oct. 1830; *At Home on Absentee Allowance April 1831.*

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(*i*) Andrew Gardiner—B.C.S. from Aug. 7, 1783 to Nov. 1805. *Resigned Dec. 1, 1805, in India. Died Jan. 5, 1806, on board the "Carmarthen," on his passage to England.*

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(7) *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 96 & 99.

(8) *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 109 & 117.

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(7) ***Bengal: Past and Present,*** Vol. XVIII, pp. 96 & 99.

(8) ***Bengal: Past and Present,*** Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 109 & 117.

CHRISTIAN—Hugh George Christian: Arrived as Writer July 14, 1802; and was in Bengal Civil Service from July 14, 1802 to April 1831. (*At Home on Absentee Allowance July 1828; Retired upon the Annuity Fund from May 1, 1831.* Living in 1838).

CHAPMAN—Charles Chapman: Arrived as Writer July 11, 1803. Was in the Bengal Civil Service from July 11, 1803 to 27th August 1821: Judge and Magistrate, Jessore, Feb. 9, 1816; Actg. Judge and Magistrate, Backergunge, 1819.
(*Died August 27, 1821, at Backergunge.*)

CALCUTTA.

WALPOLE—Richard Walpole the 3rd son of Hon. Robert Walpole, who was 4th son of the 1st Baron Walpole (1678—1757). Born 30 April 1786. Was in Bengal Civil Service from July 11, 1803 to Sep. 16, 1834. Writer July 11, 1803; Assistant to the Magistrate and Register of the Zillah of Midnapore March 3, 1806 . . . . . . Special Commissioner under Regn. III, of 1828, for Calcutta, March 1, 1829; Judge of the Sudder Dewany & Nizamut Adawlut Oct. 19, 1833.
(*Died September 16, 1834, at the Cape of Good Hope, unmarried.*)

MONEY—There were three Moneys in the B.C.S. in 1804:—

(*i*) James Money, in B.C.S. from August 1, 1790 to April, 1831. July 12, 1802 to April 11, 1804 he was Commercial Resident at Keerpoy.

(*ii*) Wigram Money, in B.C.S. from Oct. 13, 1800 to 1828. He was Writer from Oct. 13, 1800 to the 8th August 1804, and was in Calcutta.

(*iii*) Henry William Money, in B.C.S. from July 11, 1803 to August 4, 1825, when he died at Dacca as Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties there.
He was Writer from July 11, 1803 to 10th March 1807; so he also was in Calcutta in 1804.

PULLER,—Henry Puller—B.C.S. from August 21, 1801 to Nov. 15, 1830. Writer from Aug. 21, 1801 to July 1804; . . . . Judge and Magistrate of Rungpore February 1, 1812. (*Died November 15, 1813, at Rungpore, aged 30.*)

MITFORD—Robert Mitford—B.C.S. from August 29, 1799 to April 1831—Arrived as Writer Aug. 29, 1799; Assistant to the Judge of Burdwan Jan. 9, 1802, Assistant to the Collector of Moorshedabad Aug. 1, 1804;
Register of the Zillah of Moorshedabad Feb. 18, 1805;
Register and Asst. to the Magistrate of Moorshedabad, Feb. 17, 1806;
Offg. Coll. of Purnea, Oct. 7, 1808;
Coll. of Mymensing, and Offg. Coll. of Cuttack, July 20, 1810;
Coll. Shahabad, Oct. 18, 1814;
Coll. Dacca, March 29, 1816;
Actg. First Depy. Coll. of Govt. Customs at Calcutta, 1820;
Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit Moorshedabad, Nov. 23, 1821;

Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit Dacca, Sep. 5, 1822 ;

Third Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit Dacca, March 13, 1823 ;

Second Judge of Provl. Court of Appeal and Circuit at Dacca, Jan. 4, 1827 ;

(*At Home on Absentee Allowance, Nov. 1828. Retired on the Annuity Fund from May 1, 1831, and Died April 21, 1836.*)

The well-known Mitford Hospital at Dacca owes its existence to the charity of this late Mr. Robert Mitford of the B.C.S., who served in Dacca for many years as is evident from the history of services given above. He left the bulk of his property to the Government of Bengal by Will, to be employed in works of public utility. The following is an extract from a report of the case which arose upon the bequest on his Will in 1843 :—

"After other gifts the testator the late Robert Mitford Esqr., a gentleman formerly in the Civil Service of the East India Company went on to provide upon his bequest in the Will "9thly that the remainder of his property be paid to the Government of Bengal, to be employed in erecting such charitable, beneficial and public works for the benefit of the native inhabitants of Dacca, as they and the Government should think best." " (9)

TIPPETT—William Hornby Tippett—Was in Bengal Civil Service from July 11, 1803 to July 10, 1824.

(*Died July 11, 1824, on board the Company's Ship "Berwickshire" at Sea.*)

IMPEY—There were two Impeys in the Bengal Civil Service during 1804 :—

(*i*) Hastings Impey—Son of Sir Elijah Impey. Arrived as Writer Aug. 19, 1799 ; Register to the Adawlut at Allahabad Aug. 1, 1804 ; (*Died at at Calcutta, February 4, 1805, aged 23.*)

(*ii*) Edward Impey—Son of Sir Elijah Impey, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta ; and father of Col. E. C. Impey, C.I.E. (see *Dict Ind. Biog.*) Arrived as Writer Oct. 13, 1800 ; Register to the Adawlut of Gorruckpore Aug. 1, 1804 ; suspended from his Office as Acting Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad on July 30, 1819 ; at Home—1819 ; (*Dismissed from the Service, Nov. 27, 1822, in England.*) Married Julie, eldest daughter of Chevalier de l' Etang.

It is very difficult to ascertain which of them was the one who played on behalf of the Civil Servants in 1804.

W. BIRD in all probability is William Wilberforce Bird—In Bengal Civil Service from July 11, 1803 to 1838. He was special Commissioner for investigating Charges against Mr. C. R. Martin, August 15,

(6) Home Dept. Pub. Con. Aug. 5, 1843, No. 24 & K. W.

1837 ; Senior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, and of the Marine Board September 17, 1838. Retired, 1844. Died 1 June 1857. (See *Dict. Ind. Biog.*)

REES—There were two Rees also in the Bengal Civil Service in 1804 when the cricket match was played :—

(i) William Edward Rees—in B.C.S. from Sept. 14, 1794 to Dec. 8, 1820 ; he was Assistant Judge of the City Court of Patna Aug. 11, 1803 ; Judge of the Zillah of Agra Feb. 18, 1805 ; (*Died Dec. 8, 1820 at the Cape of Good Hope.*)

(ii) John Mitford Rees—in B.C.S. from Sept. 26, 1795 to Nov. 11, 1819 ; from May 7, 1802 to 29, December 1805 he was at Dacca, first as Register and then as Asst. Judge of the Zilla Court of Dacca. In 1819 he was appointed as Commissioner for revising certain Cases under Regn. VIII of 1818.

(*Died November 11, 1819, at Fort William.*)

From the services of these two Rees it is evident that the latter, that is John Mitford Rees, played in the match in 1804.

PLOWDEN (10)—There were three Plowdens in Bengal Civil Service in 1804 :—

(*i*) George Augustus Chicheley Plowden—b. 17, Dec. 1785 ; son of Richard C. P., B.C.S., Director E. I. Co., 1803 ; Joined B.C.S. 14, July, 1802 ; d. Calcutta 16, Nov. 1804.

But according to the privately printed *Records of the Chicheley Plowdens*, by Lt. Col. Walter F. C. Chicheley Plowden, 1914, he joined the B.C.S. on 2, April 1804, and if this is right he could not have played in the match.

(*ii*) Trevor John Chicheley Plowden—another son of Richard, the Director. b. 4 June 1784 ; in B.C.S. Oct. 13, 1800 to July 6, 1836, when he died on board the *Hibernia*.

(*iii*) Richard Chicheley Plowden, another son of Richard, the Director, b. 19 Aug., 1782 ; married, 22 Aug. 1803, Sophia, daughter of Richard Fleming of Calcutta (11) ; B.C.S. Nov. 1, 1798 to 14, July 1825, when he died at the Cape of Good Hope.

Of the above three Plowdens the second one, Trevor John Chicheley Plowden, who was first Writer and then Head Assistant to the Secretary, Sect. and Foreign Dept., might have taken part in the match of 1804. He was the last of the Bengal Civil Servants to hold the office of Sheriff. He was the great-grandfather of the present Lady Lytton. His widow Francis Lina Erskine married on Christmas Day 1837, Henry Meredith Parker (1795—1863).(12)

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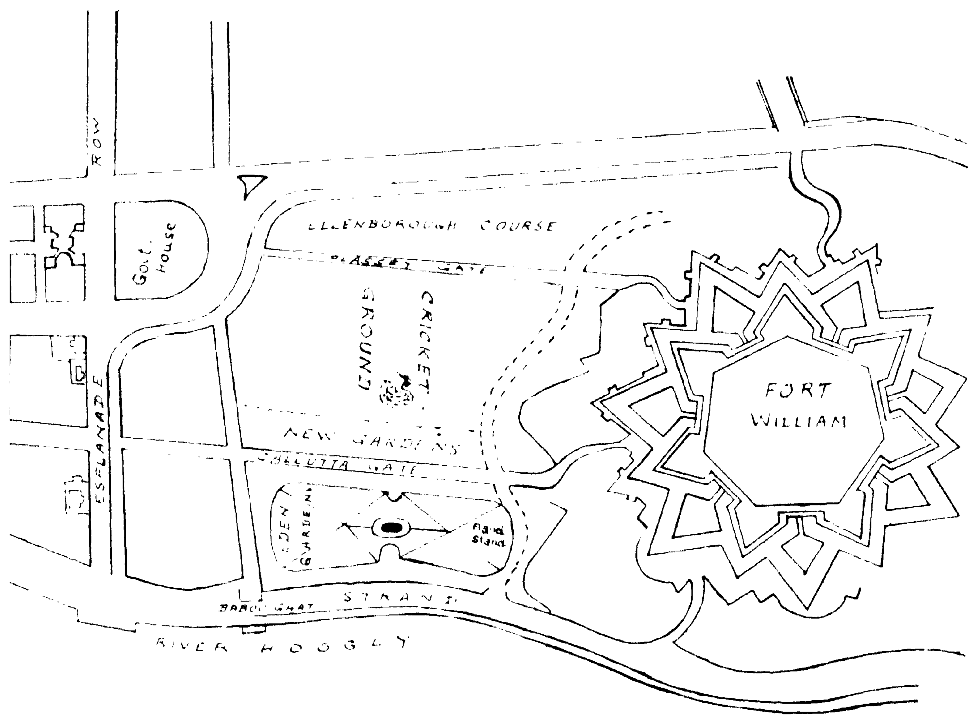
(10) Henry Chicheley Plowden (brother of Richard, the Director) was also in Bengal in 1804, as he did not retire till 1817, being at the latter date Salt Agent at Chittagong. He was born in 1754 so was rather old (in those days) to play cricket in 1804.

(11) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 107.

(12) Ibid., p. 111.



THE CALCUTTA CRICKET CLUB IN 1859.
(*Photo by Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd.*)
Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Amal Home,
Editor, "Calcutta Municipal Gazette".



NEWNHAM—Henry Newnham—In the Bengal Civil Service from July 11, 1803 to April 1834. See *Fatehgarh Camp*, by C. W. Wallace, p. 205 & *passim*. (*Retired on the Annuity Fund from May 1, 1834*). Living in 1838.

FORTESCUE—Thomas Fortescue : in B.C.S. from Nov. 1, 1798 to 1824. Sixth Assistant in the Governor General's Office March 19, 1801 ; Secretary to Commissioners for the Affairs of Cuttack June 16, 1804, (*At Home 1821, and out of service in 1825.*)

From now two decades elapsed, till those of the sports-loving and energetic Englishmen who had taken part in the first match of their great national game of cricket in Calcutta in 1804, as stated above, and were still in the Company's Civll Service in Bengal, gradually felt the necessity of having a regular Cricket Club and a permanent ground for the practice and enjoyment of their favourite outdoor game ; and in 1825 they managed to obtain the use of a plot of land on the Maidan (13) between Government House and Fort William. It ran north-east and south-west across what is now known as the approach to the Plassey Gate of Fort William, and thus comprised the entire plot of land from the present statue of Sir John Lawrence to the Customs Ground, having on its eastern boundary the approach to the Plassey Gate then leading from the southern gate of the Government House to Fort William, as will be seen from the reproduction of the "Sketch of the Maidan". (14) About the centre of the western boundary line of the play ground stood a graceful banyan tree, which was not only an ornament to the cricket ground but also from 1825 to the beginning of 1864 proved a great amenity to the members of the Cricket Club, especially on match days when the ground was thronged by members of all classes who used to collect under this tree to witness the game. This banyan tree still stands majestically just at the western conrner at the junction of the Plassey Gate Road and the Eden Garden Road ; and affords, as usual, shelter to many. It is a living testimony for its association with the past history of the Calcutta Chicket Club.

For another reference to a cricket match played just a century ago in Calcutta, on the 23rd March 1836, we must turn to the pages of the Hon. Emily Eden's *Letters from India* (15) where she writes :

"Calcutta, Wednesday, March 23, 1836.

"Charles Cameron is just as fond of cricket as he was in Eden Farm days, and he and Sir E. Ryan (the Chief Justice) have established a cricket club, and when we drove through their gardens the Calcutta Eleven were playing the officers of the '*Jupiter*' and the '*Hyacinthe*'. It looked pretty and English and brought back visions of Prince's Plain."

(13) India P. W. D. (Civil Works Misc) Progs., (B) March 1864, No. 3.

(14) Bengal, Judl. (A) May 1863, No. 147.

(15) *Letters from India* (1838) Vol. I, page 115.

SIR EDWARD—Ryan (1793-1875) Born Aug. 28, 1793: son William Ryan: educated at Trinity College, Cambridge: called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1817: appointed, in 1826, a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta: knighted, and became Chief Justice of Bengal, 1833, until he retired in 1843: President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1832: became a Privy Councillor, and member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1843: . . . . etc. Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1847-75: F.G.S., and F.R.S.: died Aug. 22, 1875: author of some legal works. (*Dict. Ind. Biog.*)

CHARLES—Cameron is undoubtedly Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, Barrister. Son of Charles Cameron: Born Feb. 11, 1795: called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn, 1820: was a commissioner on judicial affairs in Ceylon, and the poor-laws, in 1831-3: after the Statute of 1833, he was appointed Member of the Law Commission and went to India in 1835: co-operated in law-making and codification with Macaulay, the Legal Member: was in 1843 himself Legal Member of the Supreme Council till 1848: and President of the Council of Education: retired in 1848. Went to Ceylon in 1875 and died there, May 8, 1880. (*Dict. Ind. Biog.*)

In 1841 the Club, it is stated, was permitted to enclose the ground by putting a fence round it. The Club continued to enjoy the privilege of using the ground till the beginning of the year 1863 ; when, at the start of the hot season of that year, a portion of their ground to the eastward, on which there was for a long time the mat-house of the native servants of the club, was abruptly taken away by the Government for the formation of a new approach to Fort William.

The removal of the thatched-house had been under contemplation by the Government since 1854, as will appear from the following extracts from the remarks of the Garrison Engineer and the Chief Magistrate.

(*Bengal Judicial Progs. 29th April 1854, No. 109.*)

[Extracts.]

* * * * *

"I believe it would be found on enquiry now that the Calcutta Cricket Club consider that they hold their ground on the Esplanade more by matter of right than of favour, and judging by the general history of all encroachments see no guarantee against future attempts to turn their temporary huts, or the temporary cottages in the Auckland Gardens, into permanent buildings. I think, therefore, that the Military Authorities should have the right of objecting to the erection of all temporary Buildings on the Esplanade."

"The River Bank from the southward of Auckland Gardens to Prinsep's Ghat might be required for military purposes and therefore should be under the control by the military authorities."

10th Apr. 1854.
Fort William,

W. ABERCROMBIE, MAJOR,
Offg. Garrison Engr.

[Remarks by the Chief Magistrate and the Town Major on Garrison Engineer's minutes.]

(*Bengal Jud*l. *Progs. 29 April 1854, No. 110.*)

[Extracts.]

* * * * *

"I cordially concur in the Garrison Engineer's remarks about the Cricket Ground, Buildings in the Auckland Circus and so forth. The Secretary of the Cricket Club did use (sic.) to me last year the very words supposed by Major Abercrombie—viz.—that the Cricket enclosure was there not by sufferance but right and I should be rejoiced to see it removed. I would allow the Club to have Tents pitched from October 15 to April 15, but would remove the Enclosure and the permanent Thatched Houses now on the ground."

April 15th 1854. W. H. ELLIOT.

As a sort of compensation, a large strip of land to the westward and northward, by the side of another road leading from the High Court to the Calcutta Gate of Fort William, whch then formed the eastern bondary of the Auckland Circus Gardens, was made over to the Cricket Club. The Lieutenant Governor was at the same time pleased to determine to leave the Banyan Tree within the limit of the ground (16) which it was proposed by the new road to exclude altogether.

The new piece of ground was re-fenced and brought into perfect playable condition at the expense of Rs. 1000/- by the Cricket Club (17); who were under the impression that no further alteration of the boundaries would be required. But on the 4th of February, 1864, the members of the Cricket Club learned with the greatest surprise and dismay that the construction of a new road into Fort William had been actually begun, and that it would cut directly through the Cricket Ground, causing much harm to that portion of the ground on which the wickets during match days were invariably pitched. Consequently the members of the Cricket Club submitted memorials both to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and the Governor-General of India, praying that the line of the road might be deflected a little to the East so that their ground might be saved:—

[*Govt. of India P.W.D. Misc. Mar. 1864, nos 1-4 & K. W.*]

From the Secretary to the Calcutta Cricket Club

To

Colonel R. Strachey, Royal Engineers,

Secretary to the Government of India, P.W.D.,

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the accompanying Memorial of the Members of the Calcutta Cricket Club relative to the construction of a new road on

(16) India P. W. D. (Civil Works Misc) Progs., (B) March 1864, No. No. 3 & K. W.

(17) Ibid.

the Esplanade through a portion of the (*torn in the original*) Council will reconsider the orders given for the present direction of the line.

2. The Memorial in question has already been submitted to the Government of Bengal, but His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has intimated that he is unable to accede to the prayer of the Memorialists ; on the ground that he does not see any reason for re-opening a question which has been fully considered and decided by the Government of India.

3. The Members of the Calcutta Cricket Club feel that they can add but little to the statements and reasons urged in the Memorial, but they would respectfully solicit the special attention of His Excellency the Governor General to the following points.

4. A very slight deflection or alteration in the proposed line of road viz. to the South East and East, would leave the large tree which is the great ornament and pride of the Club ground, and under which number of spectators are grouped on match days, still within its limits ; and would at the same time very little, if at all, impair it (*torn in the original*).

5. The Calcutta Cricket Club have been put to considerable expense in smoothing and perfecting the present match ground, and it must require years before a new piece which for matches must be in the centre of the ground as (*torn in the original*) by the new road, can be brought into the same state of perfection. Moreover if it be proposed to cede to the Club, as the Members understand—a new piece of ground to the west, between the present ground and the Eden Gardens, in compensation for that taken by the new road ; the Members opine that the said cession may interfere with the convenience of the native community numbers of whom daily pass along that portion of the Esplanade in transit from Calcutta to Kidderpore and Bhowanipore.

6. The Members further submit that the statue to the Late Sir James Outram or by which the new road is to run was erected in that illustrious officer's life time they feel certain that he would have been the first person to deprecate any arrangements connected with his statue which would interfere with the amusement of any portion of the Community ; and with these remarks—and with the hope that His Excellency the Governor General (*torn in the original*) of road ; and to give it a slight turn to the south and East of the large Tree which is all they require ; I have the honor to leave the matter in your hands, and solicit an early reply to this communication.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obedient faithful servant
PETER ANDERSON
for Secretary.

Calcutta 12th February, 1864.

N. B. The Memorial will follow.

5½, Clive Ghat Street,
Calcutta.
February 18th, 1864.

Lieut.-Col. R. Strachey, R.E.
Secretary to the Government of India,
Public Works Department.

Sir,

(*Torn in the original*) the Secretary of the Cricket Club dated the 12th instant I have now the honor to forward to you a copy of the Memorial of the Members of the Calcutta Cricket Club to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal with reference to the proposed new road through their ground.

I remain
Your Obedient Servant
J. F. RUTHERFORD
Hon. Secy., C. C. C.

To

The Honorable Cecil Beadon,
Lieutt. Governor of Bengal.

The Humble memorial of the members of the Calcutta Cricket Club respectfully sheweth

That ever since the formation of the Calcutta Cricket Club in the year 1825/26—now nearly forty years ago the Club has through the kindness and liberality of the Government, been in possession of the piece of ground which is universally known by the name of the Cricket ground

That in the year 1841 the Club was permitted to enclose the ground by putting a fence round it—and that from then until now, or for a period of nearly 23 years, considerable expense has been from time to time incurred in making levelling smoothing and keeping up the ground until it has attained a degree of excellence which has made it hardly second to any Cricket ground in the World.

That, in the beginning of the last hot season your memorialists were startled by a report that a portion of the said Cricket ground was to be retaken by Government, for the formation of a new approach to Fort William.

That on hearing this report—which your memorialists found on enquiry to be but too true—The ground Secretary, as he is termed on the part of your memorialists, had an interview with your Honour, The result of which

was that certain boundaries were proposed and fixed, a piece of ground to the Eastward was taken away on which for a long time the mat-house of the native servants of our Club had been fixed, a large strip to the Westward and Northward being made over to your memorialists as a sort of compensation therefor your Honor then being pleased at the same time to determine the line of the then proposed new road so that the well known and the only tree in the cricket ground should still be left within its limits and be then saved from the destruction which seemed until then to await it. This tree it is proposed by the new road to exclude altogether That your memorialists cheerfully fell in with the views of your Honor as then expressed and incurred an expense but very little short of Rs. 1000 in refencing the gound in removing the house aforementioned and rebuilding and adding to it and in bringing into order the new piece of ground which had been made over to the Club. These alterations and improvements were effected at the cost already stated a sum which has consumed a large portion of the annual income—and has crippled the resources of the club.

In effecting these changes and in carrying out the wishes expressed by your honor—Your memorialists were under the impression that no further alteration of the boundaries would be required and that thenceforth the land marks of the club ground would be left unmolested.

That on the 4th instant they learnt with the greatest surprise and dismay, that the construction of a new road into Fort William had been actually commenced which will cut directly through the ground and pass within a few yards of that portion of it on which the match wickets are invariably pitched and the upholding of which had from the earliest period cost the club its greatest outlay. The passage of the proposed road across this piece of the ground will entirely destroy it for the purposes of playing matches, will necessitate abandonment of the best portion of the ground, and will compel the members to seek elsewhere for a position suitable for matches. Your Honor need scarcely be reminded that some portions of the ground as are suitable for mere position, are not well adopted for matches for which the smoothest surface and centrality of position are the great objects to be attained ; and that to render useless the present match ground is practically to strike at the very root of the Club.

Your Memorialists must also respectfully but earnestly bring to your honor's notice the manner in which this incroachment on the Cricket ground has been commenced Viz. without the slightest notice having been afforded to your memorialists who are so deeply affected by the proposed alterations which have not the slightest apparent regard for the welfare of an institution which has and has all along had for its legitimate and sole object—The keeping up in this country under great natural disadvantages, and for the good and amusement of the public ; The great national game of England They observe further that a large portion of the finances of your memorialists is drawn from the pockets of those members of society, who though they may have ceased to take an active part in the game remain members of the

Club for the sake of old associations and who resort to the Club ground because it possesses greater facilities for doing so than could be experienced were it placed in any other locality that could be named. That in the cases of these members the removal of the ground elsewhere which, if successive portions of the ground are to be taken away for further purposes, may become unavoidable would efface all old associations, deprive the club of much vital support and thereby cripple its finances. That the ground though kept up by a limited number of the inhabitants of Calcutta has always been open to every member of the Community who may have desired to witness the game of Cricket and that on match days it is thronged by official and unofficial members of all classes, who collect under the shade of the only banyan tree on the ground, which tree it is now proposed to exclude from the ground altogether. In the Cold season Visitors to the place enjoying a scene, which looking to the splendid shipping in the strand or to the various Public and private edifices seen around is unequalled amongst great cities.

That your memorialists would submit that the road as defined by your Honor on the occasion of your interview with the ground Secretary last year, meets all the substantial requirements for easy access to Fort William—entailing but a slight deviation from the line of road which it is now or might (sic) to carry through the Cricket ground a deviation, which while it will in no degree impair the facility of the entrance to Fort William, will at the same time preserve the match ground of the Club almost in its integrity. On the other hand your memorialists submit that to carry the road as now proposed merely for the sake of a little extra apparent symmetry in the work will tend to inflict a great injury on the Cricket Club without really benefiting the Public who seek access to the Fort.

Your memorialists feeling that the occupation of the Cricket Club ground if carried out as now proposed will inflict a blow on the club from which it will be difficult to rally—pray that your honour, after local inspection should it seem fit, will be pleased to issue such orders as will cause the suspension of the works of the proposed road until it shall have been ascertained whether access to Fort William cannot be arrived at without destroying an institution which has been the means of bringing many men together and of affording health and recreation to so many residents of the Town of Calcutta for so long a period as is now referred to and your memorialists will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Members of the Calcutta Cricket Club as authorised to do so at a meeting of the Club, held this day.
Calcutta February 6th 1864.

Signed W. S. Seton Karr.
,, J. A. Crawford.
,, Seymour Blane.
,, Peter Anderson
,, J. F. Rutherford
Hon. Sec. C. C. C.
,, Brook S. B. Parlby
Ground Secretary C. C. C.

For Orders

R. S.
17-2-64

This matter was very fully considered by the Lt.-Govr. and Sir Robert Napier, and I do not think that a case is made out for revising the decision which they came to.

W. G.
26/2

To the G. G.

Say that I regret much that I cannot interfere.

J. L.
26/2/64

P. W. Dept. Misc. Works No. 974

The 1st March 1864

To
The Secy. to the Calcututa Cricket Club.

Sir,

Having laid before H. E. the G. G. in C. your letters, dated 12th and 18th instant with the Memorial of the member of the Calcutta Cricket Club which accompanied the latter I am directed to state in reply that H. E. in C. regrets much that he cannot interfere with the previous decision in regard to the direction of the New Road in the Esplanade.

I have etc.

Feb. 26, 1864.
Belvedere

My dear Grey

Originally I proposed that the road should be curved as the Cricketers desire : but Napier decided otherwise and I have no doubt whatever that his decision is correct and that the road ought to take the direction that is now given to it. This decision having been yours I certainly do not think that the temporary inconvenience of the cricketers ought to induce the Govt. to sanction an inferior arrangement of the road, an arrangement which will last for ever.

Even the temporary inconvenience is exaggerated. The Wickets for matches will not have to be moved off the old ground, and if the Club set to and prepare the new ground as soon as the season is over it will be in capital order for fielding by next November.

About the Tree, it is all sentiment. People may still sit under the Tree to see the game, for though it will be out of the ground the view will not be interrupted. But in fact the Tree is on the wrong side of the ground and people who sit there have the afternoon sun in their eyes when they look at the game. It will be a convenience to everybody if a light iron shed is put up on the west side of the ground close to the Eden Gardens.

As to expense, the Cricketers have been told that the Govt. will bear the expense of putting the new bit of ground in order. I would adhere to Napier's line.

Yrs. sincerely
C. BEADON.

NARENDRANATH GANGULY
Asst. Imperial Record Dep.
&
Hony. Asst. Editor.

Armenians as Political Stepping-Stones in India.

KHOJAH ISRAEL SARHAD.

IN an illuminating article which the late Professor C. R. Wilson, published in the now defunct "Englishman" (Calcutta), on the 31st January 1895, under the caption ARMENIAN FOUNDERS OF CALCUTTA, the learned author of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* referring to the *Oldest* Christian tomb in Calcutta, bearing the date 1630, discovered by the writer of these lines in the Calcutta Armenian Churchyard, in August 1894, wrote as follows:—

"It is gratifying to learn that the efforts which have recently been made by various enquirers and in various ways to push back the history of Calcutta to the remoter past, before the formation of the English Settlement under Job Charnock, have not been altogether without fruit. By slow degrees evidences are being accumulated which tend to connect Calcutta with earlier traders and prove that even before the building of Fort William the place was not without importance. Among such evidences one of the most striking is the discovery which has recently been made by Mr. M. J. Seth, an enthusiastic Armenian scholar, who at the instance of Government has translated a large number of the classical Armenian inscriptions in the church-yard of St. Nazareth, Calcutta. The earliest inscription runs as follows:—

> This is the tomb of Rezabeebeh, the wife of the late charitable Sookias, who departed from this world to life eternal on the 21st day of Nakha in the year 15, *i.e.*, on the 21st July, 1630.

What a world of questions is suggested by this newly-found record? Why was this source of information never utilized before, who was the 'charitable Sookias' and how did his family come to be living in Calcutta sixty years before the advent of the English? Was there already an Armenian Settlement here? Are the Armenians after all the Founders of the city?

Upon these considerations our early records do not cast much light, but they supply other equally important information about the Armenians in Calcutta. If they do not enable us to decide whether there was an Armenian colony settled here before 1630, they show that it was through the Armenians that the English Colony secured a footing in the country. If Job Charnock be the founder of Calcutta, the author of its privileges and early security is the great Armenian merchant, Khojah Israel Sarhad. In a recent article we mentioned this remarkable man as one of the Embassy sent to Delhi in 1715; such a bare notice does but scanty justice to the

services which he rendered on that occasion, and not on that occasion only, but at a still earlier period, when the English were even more in need of help. It was at the time of the rebellion of Subha Sing when the English were just beginning to build their Fort, that 'Cojah Surhaud', as he was called first appears in the records. In June 1697, he was sent as Political Agent to the camp of Zabardasth Khan, the Mogul General engaged in suppressing the revolt. Here, however, he met with no success till at the end of the year when Azim-ush-Shan arrived in Bengal and assumed command. At the court of this easy-going Prince, Sarhad succeeded in ingratiating himself by his prudent conduct and winning address and in particular in becoming a prime favourite with Azim-ush-Shan's young son, Farrukh Siyar, then about fourteen years old. The friendship of the future Emperor was won by presents of toys, at that time very acceptable, for which he expressed a great deal of satisfaction, often sending for Khojah Sarhad and making him sit by him many hours to show what uses they were for. The result of this judicious management was that in July 1698, for the sum of sixteen thousand rupees, the English acquired letters-patent from the Prince, allowing them to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govindpur. After this remarkable achievement, Khojah Sarhad drops out of sight for some time. He was apparently more successful as a Political Agent than as a merchant . . . . .

In 1713, Sarhad comes to notice again as a negotiator. The English were now bent on sending off their embassy to Furrukh Siyar, now Emperor at Delhi, and his quondam play-fellow was of the greatest use in arranging the prelimanaries. Through another Armenian, Khojah Manur, who was then in attendance on the Badishah Begum, the daughter of Aurungzebe, he prevailed with the king to order a hasb-ul-hukum (1) to be given, ordering all *subahs*, governors, and officers whatsoever to guard our present for the King through their several Governments till it shall arrive, with the English that shall accompany it and Cojah Surhaud at Court'.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the present was at length sent off, Sarhad was made second in the management of the embassy.

On the 5th of June, 1714, 'it was unanimously agreed that Cojah Surhaud, whose interest at Court has already had the good effect of procuring us the husb-ul-hukum and several other useful orders from Court, be sent to assist in suing for the King's *firman*, and that he sit and vote in the Council along with the three English gentlemen.' 'It is absolutely necessary', adds the record book,' that some person who is perfect master of the Persian language and understands our affairs very well, and what may be useful for us, be sent, and we know no man so qualified in both these respects as Cojah Surhaud. He is therefore, the fittest man to send'. The event, as is well known, justified this selection. The English embassy, aided partly by

(1) The hasb-ul-hukum was an official confirmation, under the seal of the *vazir*, enforcing obedience to the Emperor's *farman*.

the favourable impression produced by the skill of Dr. Hamilton (2), and still more by the diplomatic talents of Khojah Sarhad, procured from Furrukh Siyar a number of privileges which, though never realised to their full extent, were yet sufficient to keep Callcutta and its trade safe from molestation till the days of Suraj-ud-Dowlah."

I have in the course of my researches into the dim past, come upon certain data which go to prove the truth of the learned antiquarian's dictum that "if Job Charnoch be the founder of Calcutta, the author of its privileges and early security is the great Armenian merchant, Khojah Israel Sarhad."

We find that after Job Charnock had settled in Calcutta in 1690, it was deemed necessary to build a Factory with its usual adjunct—a Fort—for the protection of their emporium and the valuable goods to be stored therein, and for such extensive buildings, large tracts of lands were necessary, but how were they to acquire the lands without the permission of the hostile Mogul Government which viewed the growth and the expansion of the Company's trade with suspicion. It may be mentioned that the Armenians were the most favoured subjects of the Delhi government at that time and had been held in high esteem by the Mogul Emperors from the days of Akbar downwards for their loyalty and integrity. The English were not slow in recognising the worth of the Armenians in Bengal whose valued friendship they eagerly sought for the furtherance of their cause in the country. There resided at that time an eminent Armenian merchant at Hooghly, Khojah Israel Sarhad by name, a nephew of the illustrious Khojah Phanoos Kalandar of Surat with whom he had been to England in 1688.

The English being aware of the abilities of the Armenian merchant, approached Khojah Israel Sarhad and requested him to proceed to the Camp of the Mogul Emperor, Azim-ush-Shan, the grandson of the Emperor Aurungzebe, who had come down from Delhi to quell the rebellion of Subah Singh of Bengal towards the end of the year 1697.

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(2) Surgeon William Hamilton died at Calcutta in 1717. There is a slab in the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's churchyard with inscriptions in English and Persian. The interesting epitaph in English is as follows :—

> "Under this stone lyes interred the body of William Hamilton, Surgeon, who departed this life the 4th December, 1717. His memory ought to be dear to this Nation, for the credit he gained y English in curing Ferrakseer the present King of Indostan of a malignant distemper, by which he made his own name famous at the court of that Great Monarch ; and without doubt will perpetuate his memory, as well in Great Britain as all other nations in Europe."

The Persian inscription beautifully carved is equally interesting. It can be translated thus :—

> "William Hamilton, Surgeon, Servant of the English Company who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the splendid court, and had raised his name in the four quarters of the country by curing the King of Kings, the protection of the world, Muhammad Farrukh Siyar Ghazi, having with a thousand difficulties, obtained from the Court, the asylum of the world, permission to go home, died, as decreed by God, in Calcutta, on the 4th of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventeen. He lies burried in this place."

Let the age-worn and musty recordds speak :—

In the *Chutanuttee Diary and Consultations* for June, July and August, 1697, we find the following entry under date the 24th June, 1697 :

"Cojah Suhaud having offer'd his servis to goe to the Nabob's son Zubberdast Cawn, General of the Mogull's forces against the Rebell, and Governor of all these parts at present to make Application in behalf of the Right Honourable Company against the interlopers, it's resolved and agreede to and by us, that he proceede accordingly and because persons who have business are not acceptable and welcome to these great persons, empty handed, for the more effectual and Speedy procuring redress and getting out *Perwannas* to prevent the interlopers from trade. It's Agreede and resolved that an Arrazdaast or Letters be sent to Nabob's Son to the same effect : Also a Present to the value of a thousand Rupees, in broad cloth, flint ware &c. as under specified, and that verball directions be given. Cojah Surhaud to countenance and forward his proceedings against the Interlopers, and more especially to insist upon the late servises we have done the King."

In the same *Diary and Consultations* for the 8th day of July, 1697, it is recorded.

"Cojah Surhaud being returned to us from Zubberdast Caun with his *Perwanna* on the Governors of Hugly and Ballasore to hinder the Interlopers from trade, it's Ordered that the *Perwannas* be dispeeded forthwith to said Governor."

The following entry appears in the *Chutanuttee Diary and Consultations* for 22nd September 1698.

"Mr. Walsh and Cojah Surhaud being arrived with us from the Embassage to the young Prince, having finished all business to our great satisfaction and the honour and credit of our Right Honourable Masters and intimating us that they promised the Prince three Brass small pieces of cannon, his curiosity or rather warlike disposition hankering after a handsome and decent Artillery. In consideration whereof and that they would be very acceptable to him,

It's Agreede and Ordered that they be forthwith dispeeded to him. And because very suddenly we may have further occasion to make use of his favours in matter wherewith the Right Honourable Company's affairs may receive great prejudice without his countenance and protection.

It's further resolved that a present of the New Flint ware that came by the *Anna* (being the best and the greatest curiosities that has come out of England these many years) be tendered him to preserve the friendship and Affection he hath in a more special manner demonstrated to the English above other nations."

And it was the same Khojah Sarhad who, in 1715, accompanied the Surman Embassy to Delhi and succeeded in obtaining from the Mogul

Emperor Farrukh Siyar, the historic "GRAND FARMAN" for the English, which laid the foundations of British rule in India. In the several reasons given by the Calcutta Council at the meeting held on the 27th day of January 1714, for appointing Khojah Sarhad in the negotiations at the Court of the Great Mogul, they state, among others that :—

"1st. He managed our affairs in Mohamed Azeem's Darbar and by his prudent conduct and winning address insinuated himself into favour and procured for us the Grant of this place [Calcutta] and the dependent towns which we now enjoy and that for small expence in comparison of the benefit.

2nd. He was personally known to Prince Feruckseer [Farrukh Siyar] the present King, then about fourteen years old and made him presents of toyes at that time very acceptable, for which he exprest a great deal of satisfaction often sending for Cojah Serhaud and making him sit by him many hours to show what uses they were for. This we believe the King remembers and is probably one cause of his readily ordering a *Husbull Hookum* for us at the request of Cojah Serhauds' friends and agents at Court and appointing him to be particularly named in that, and all the *Perwannas* we lately received, commanding safe conduct for him also for out Present and English Gentlemen that shall accompany it.

3rd. It is absolutely necessary that some person who is perfect master of the Persian language and understands our affairs very well and what may be useful for us be sent and we know no man so qualified in both these respects as Cojah Serhaud is. He is therefore the fittest man we can send.

4th. If we should send him as *Vacqueel* only and inferior to all the English Gentlemen, we may reasonably suppose the King would in that case regard him most, which would be an affront to our nation. But that is not now likely to happen because he is joined in commission and second in negotiation and it will be his interest to get favour and respect for the whole."

And on the 5th June, 1714, adds the record book.

"It was also unanmously agreed that Cojah Serhaud whose interest &c. at Court has already had the good effect of procuring as the *Hasbull Hukum* and several other useful orders from Court be sent to assist in suing for the Kings' *Phirmaud* [Farman] and that he sit and vote in Council along with the three English Gentlemen. All which considerations being unanimously agreed to. We do appoint that Mr. John Surman be first, Cojah Surhaud second and Mr. John Pratt, third in this negotiation and that they consult together upon all occasions and act according to the result of their consultations. And that they may not want sufficient help nor have any reasonable cause to keep the accounts of their Transactions or of expences behind hand, we do appoint Mr. Edward. Stephenson,

> Secretary and accomptant to the negotiation and [take down] that minutes when they sit in consultation. Cojah Surhaud being thus elected second in this negotiation, the Terms agreed to with him are next to be explained, and those are :—
>
> *First*. If all the privileges the Company have at any time heretofore enjoyed in the Mogull's dominions be confirmed in the new *Phirmanand* and he gets our bounds enlarged as far as we desire southward and to near Kidderpoor and that the shore on the side of the river [Howrah] opposite to this place [Calcutta] be also granted us. Also if he endeavour earnestly to get the grant of the Dew [Diu] Island near Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] which the President and Council at Madras desire may be obtained for that Presidency. His reward is then to be fifty-thousand Rupees but he is to have nothing if the fails in those points.
>
> *Secondly*—If he procures the privilege of our nation to trade custom free at Suratt which he will attempt, he is to have Fifty-thousand Rupees more for that service, but if he fails in that he is not to have the reward. He is nevertheless to endeavour to get the custom we pay at that port reduced to 2½ per cent."

The history of this all-important, if not epoch-making, Embassy to Delhi in 1715 is faithfully chronicled by the late Professor C. R. Wilson in his learned work—the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*—published in London in 1895, I need not therefore dilate on the many advantages derived therefrom by the Company.

Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, states that "the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoyed, after the return of the Embassy, a degree of freedom and security unknown to the other subjects of the Mogul Empire, and that city increased yearly in wealth, beauty and riches."

That well-informed critic and shrewd observer, William Bolts, in his *Considerations on India Affairs*, published in London, in 1782, referring to this important deputation, says :—

> "The trade of the English Company in Bengal had, from the period of their submission to Aurungzebe, continued to grow daily more important, but it was not carried on without frequent interruptions from the officers of the Mogul government, which it was hardly possible to avoid with a colony so situated. Being sensible likewise of the precarious tenures of their establishments in Bengal and elsewhere, in the year 1715 the Company sent a deputation of two gentlemen, named John Surman, and the other a very considerable Armenian merchant, named Cogee [Khojah] Serhaud, to solicit redress for past, and security against future, oppressions ; for an extension of their old, and for many new privileges ; and particularly for a small spot of ground to be allowed them wherever they settled a Factory."

Such was the language used by the English only forty years before the memorable battle of Plassey, the successful termination of which made the

English the absolute masters of Bengal. It was upon this deputation that the Company obtained their GRAND FARMAN (3) ; exempting them from paying any duties upon their trade within the Mogul's dominions, on payment of a *pheshkhash*, or present, of ten-thousand rupees per annum.

There are no references to Khojah Sarhad in the records after the return of the Embassy and I have not been able to find the date of his death or the place where he died. He is not buried at Calcutta, Chinsurah, Saidabad Hooghly or Dacca where Armenians lived and died in the first-half of the 18th century. He may have returned to his birthplace (Julfa) and died there.

There is, *inside* the Armenian church at Madras, the grave of a Sarhad who died there in 1701. He may have been the father of Khojah Israel Sarhad, the diplomat.

It may be mentioned that only eminent persons are buried *inside* Armenian churches.

MESROVB J. SETH, M.R.A.S. (London).

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(3) A translation of the *Grand Farman* was made by Mr. James Fraser, a gentleman well acquainted with the Persian language, and inserted in his *History of Nadir Shah*.

Government House, Calcutta.

AN OFFICIAL HISTORY.

The Story of Government House : by N. V. H. Symons, M.C., I.C.S. (Bengal Government Press Alipore, 1935.)

Mr. Symons, who writes in the capacity of Private Secretary to Sir John Anderson, avowedly bases his account of Government House, Calcutta, upon the mass of information contained in Lord Curzon's two imposing volumes. In these volumes which he entitled *British Government in India*, Lord Curzon has collected almost every item of available knowledge on the subject of Wellesley's Majestic Building. But the book was published just before his death in 1925 and since then there have been numerous changes at Government House. Mr. Symons has brought the story well up to date.

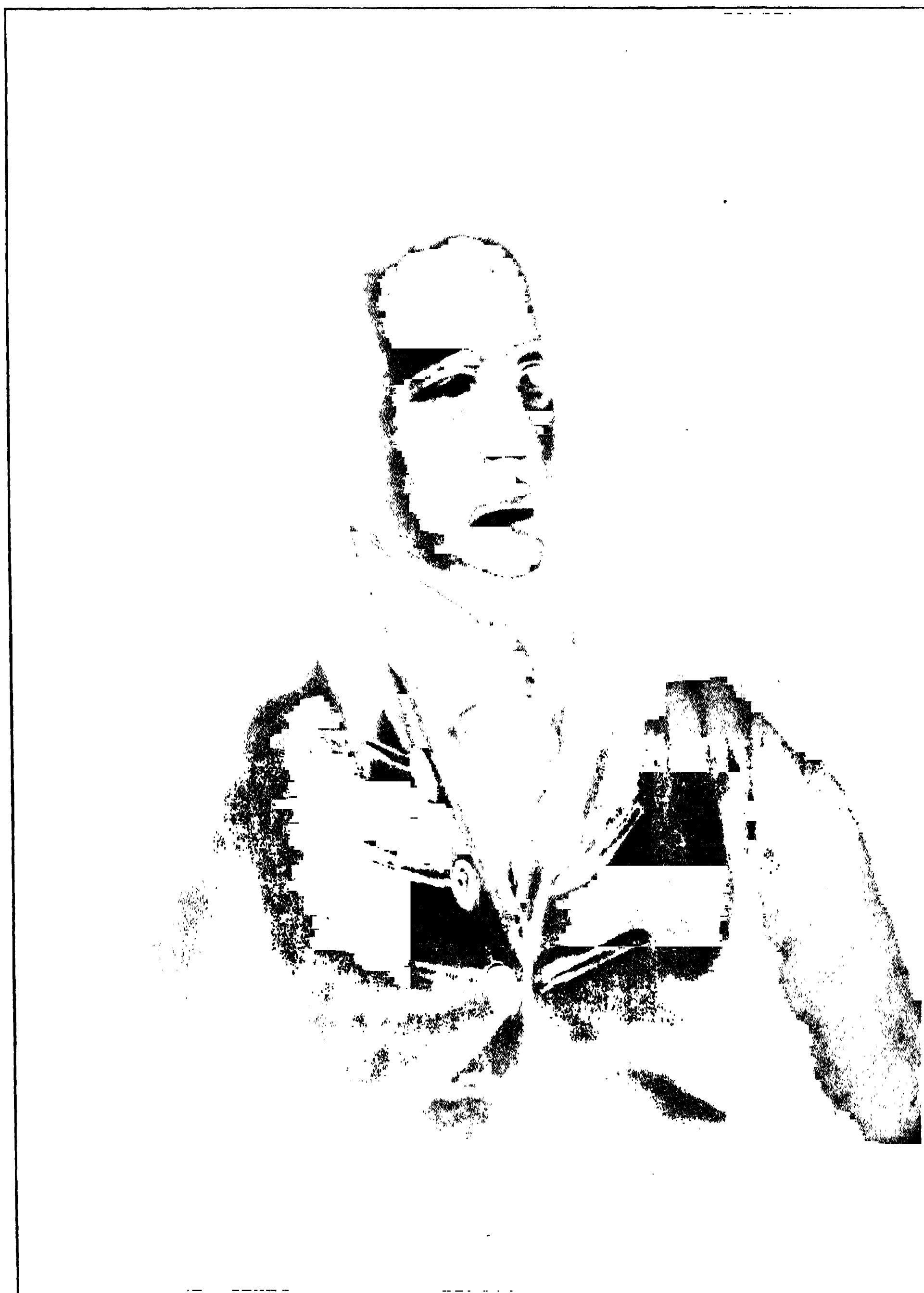
When the Capital was transferred to Delhi in 1912, most of the portraits at Government House were removed. This much is common knowledge. What is not so generally known is that copies of a number of the pictures were ordered and executed. Seventeen of them happened to be in England awaiting restoration, and the Government of Bengal, which was then under the direction of Lord Carmichael, decided that copies should be made of eleven. Nine out of the eleven portraits represented those who had lived at Government House while holding the office of Governor General, Marquess Wellesley, the Marquess of Hastings, Lord Amherst, Lord Hardinge of Lahore, Viscount Canning, the eighth Earl of Elgin, Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and the Marquess of Lansdowne. The other two portraits were of the Duke of Wellington, and (for no recorded reason) Jang Bahadur of Napal. The copying was done by W. J. Morgan, who was paid Rs. 2500 for each of the six full length pictures (the Duke of Wellington and Lords Wellesley, Hastings, Amherest, Canning and Mayo), and Rs. 1750 each for the five half length portraits (Jang Bahadur and Lords Hardinge, Elgin, Lawrence and Landsdowne), the total of the bill amounting to Rs. 23,750.

The selection was determined by pure chance, and chiefly because the pictures handed over to the copyist happened to be in England. In some respects it must be said that the choice was not happy. We miss the masterful features of Clive. It is true that he never lived in Wellesley's Government House, but his connection with the early history of Calcutta was of the most intimate kind. The portraits of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Canning depict them with the unfamiliar beards, which they never wore while in India. Lord Elgin, who died at Dharmsala in November 1863

while on tour, was Governor General for a year and spent hardly half that time in Calcutta. Lord Amherst has given his name to a street in Calcutta, but Lord Curzon says of him that among British rulers of India he leaves one of the most inconspicuous and impalpable of impressions. Still he paid extravagant attention to ceremonial and this may justify his inclusion. Again, three out of the four years during which Lord Hardinge held office, were spent out of Calcutta. The omission of Lord Auckland is to be regretted. He was not a successful Governor General, but the Eden Gardens were his gift to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie are other notable absentees. However the eleven copies, or copies of copies, are there, and if we are dissatisfied with them we can console ourselves with the more pleasing reproductions at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

In an appendix, Mr. Symons relates a happy event which followed upon his investigation of the records. It was discovered that the Governor General in Council had in 1912 decided that the portraits of Wellesley by Home and of Cornwallis by Devis should be kept for ever at Government House, Calcutta. Both had been removed, the one to Delhi and the other to Belvedere. But when the attention of Lord Willingdon was drawn to the matter, he at once agreed to their restoration, and they are now hanging in what is known as the Brown Drawing Room. The return of these two portraits to Calcutta in January of last year accounts for their omission from the recently published Catalogue of the Viceroy's pictures. Both are of historical interest. The portrait of Cornwallis was painted by public subscription to commemorate the first war against Tippo Sultan. The other celebrates the final victory of 1799. Reproductions of both pictures are given in Lord Curzon's book. Wellesley serves as a frontispiece to the 1st volume, and also to Mr. Symons' book. Cornwallis will be found opposite page 172 of the second volume.

E. C.



MAJOR GENERAL JOHN GARSTIN
(1756-1820).
ARCHITECT OF THE CALCUTTA TOWN HALL.
From a Portrait by John Opie, R.A.
(By courtesy of Mr. Harold Davis).

The Editor's Note-Book.

Major-General John Garstin.

WE reproduce on the opposite page by the courtesy of Mr. Harold Davis of King St., St. James's, the present owner of the painting, a portrait of Major-General John Garstin (1756-1820) of the Bengal Engineers. He was given a Commission by George III and became Surveyor General of Bengal and Chief Engineer. It was he who constructed the famous Gola at Bankipore and he was also the architect of the Calcutta Town Hall. Garstin's Place in Calcutta is named after him. He died in Calcutta on February 16, 1820. The painting which is of kit-cat size is attributed to John Opie, R. A. Garstin was on furlough from 1815 to 1818 and the portrait was probably painted during that time. He married Mary Loftie, the daughter of the Rev. John Loftie, a chaplain on the Bengal Establishment. She died in Calcutta on July 28, 1811, at the age of 42. His three sons, Edward, who died at Bangalore in 1871 and was a General in the Engineers, Henry, who died at Bhagalpore in 1832, and was a Captain in the Bengal Light Cavalry, and Alfred, a Captain in the Bengal Infantry who died at sea in 1826, carried on the family tradition in the Bengal Army. Both Garstin and his wife are buried in the South Park St. cemetery. The family is still represented in the Indian Army List.

Garstin's Folly.

THE erection of the Bankipore Gola, referred to above, was delegated to Captain Garstin in Bengal Military Consultations of December 18, 1793; and a description of the granary, taken from the Government "List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal" (August 1895), together with a photograph, appeared in our second volume (pp. 388-9). William Parry Okeden (1800-1868), of the Bengal C.S., visited Bankipore on his way up country from Calcutta to Agra in 1821, and records his impressions of the building in his Diary which was printed for private circulation in 1906:—

> "Sept. 7th.—Up at daylight (4.30) and went to see the building the Company erected as a granary to be filled and kept in case of a famine ; it is a large brick building in the shape of a beehive, with two winding staircases on the outside, 179 steps to each ; there is a round hole at the top where the grain was to be poured in, with two small doors at the bottom to take it out. It is the most ridiculous thing I ever saw, as it would not hold one day's consumption for the city and surrounding country. The walls are 20 feet thick at the base, and being ill built, they have given way ; it never was

filled, and would not hold rice a month, as the heat would cause the grain to swell ; it was built under the supervision of Capt., after General Garstin, and finished in 1796, and cost the Company Rs. 1,20,000."

POSTERITY has saddled Garstin with the responsibility for the ludicrous design of this storehouse ; but it would appear that some of the blame at least must attach to Lt.-Col. Henry Watson, the Chief Engineer in Bengal, who officially approved the plans, if, indeed, they did not originate with him. In Bengal Original Consultations of December 15, 1783, there is a letter to the Board from Watson, "enclosing with remarks a plan and section for the erection of permanent granaries in different parts of the provinces, and recommending Capt. John Garstin to be entrusted with the construction of the granary to be erected at Patna."

Lt.-Col. Henry Watson, Chief Engineer.

AMONG the pictures removed in 1912 from Government House, Calcutta, to Delhi and Simla were two portraits of Lord Wellesley. Both of them are the work of Robert Home. One of them has been retained in the Viceroy's collection: the other, as related elsewhere, was restored to Calcutta in January last. Lord Curzon has ascertained from a Bengal letter of July 24, 1832 to the Court of Directors that the Delhi picture was brought to Calcutta from Government House Singapore in a damaged state. It came to be there because Wellesley sent it in 1805 to Penang (Prince of Wales Island) to hang in that Government House. The other which is reproduced as a frontispiece to the first volume of Lord Curzon's *British Government in India,* is the rightful property of the citizens of Calcutta and returns to its home by an act of justice for which Lord Curzon pleaded vainly in 1925. It is somewhat larger in size (8 feet by 5 ft. 6 in. as against 7 ft. 10½ in. by 5 ft. 11 in.) and it was painted to celebrate the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. Below the frame on either side are tigers' heads and the representation of a tiger skin is festooned between them, all in gilt wood in allusion to Tippo Sultan. The Government of India have retained the elliptical panel, in gold and monochrome (3 ft. 7¼ in. by 2 ft. 1¾ in.) which represented the installation of Krishn Raja Wadiar the Raja of Mysore and which originally hung below the frame. It has been detached and placed in the aide-de-camp's room at New Delhi. During the twenty odd years of its absence from Calcutta, the picture hung latterly in the Hall of Viceregal Lodge Simla.

Portraits of Lord Wellesley.

BY the return to Calcutta at the same time of Devis's portrait of Lord Cornwallis which used to hung at Belvedere, the Viceroy's collection is left without a picture of that Governor-General. It should be possible to arrange for a copy of the Belvedere painting, and we trust that this will be done.

A Gap in the Viceroy's Collection.

OCTOGENARIAN Anglo-Indians are not uncommon, but it is not given to many of them to reach the age of ninety. Mr. A. D. Carey, who died at Montreux in June last in his ninety-second year, entered the Indian Civil Service as long ago as 1865 and served in Bombay until 1893. He had thus drawn his pension for forty-three years. As a descendant of the famous Dr. Carey of Serampore, he had a hereditary connexion with Bengal. He was a great traveller and was one of the earliest explorers of Sin-Kiang: and in one of his journeys he covered three thousand miles in Turkestan.

A Descendant of Dr. Carey.

PERMISSION has been given to the Asiatic Society of Bengal to use the title "Royal" as a prefix. The Society will therefore be known henceforth as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Its original designation at the time of its foundation in 1786 by Sir William Jones was the Asiatick Society. The words "of Bengal" were added by James Prinsep in 1832 on the title page of the Journal in order to distinguish it from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland which is an entirely separate and distinct body.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The first eight notes below are from the pen of the Rev. W. K. Firminger, first editor of *Bengal : Past and Present*. It is just on thirty years since he wrote the first note in this Note-Book.

IN Volume II of *Bengal : Past and Present* was included Alexander Dalrymple's Report on the loss of the "Grosvenor" Indiaman. Among those who were on board that unfortunate ship were a Colonel James, his wife, and Master Thomas Fitzmaurice Chambers. The last was a son of Sir Robert Chambers. In connection with his departure from Calcutta, Mrs. Fay writes "he is a charming boy, nearly seven years of age, which is rather late, but no good opportunity has occurred till now." The "opportunity" seems to have been afforded by the circumstance that Col. and Mrs. James were to

The loss of the "Grosvenor."

travel on the "Grosvenor". Cansick's *Epitaphs of Middlesex*, iii, p. 18, gives the following from St. Mary's Church, Hornsey:—

Here lieth the Body of
ELIZABETH CHAMBERS,
who departed this Life October the 21st 1750
Aged 33 Years.
To whose memory this Monument was erected
By Eliza Harington her Daughter
In the year 1792
Also to the Memory of
COLONEL EDWARD JAMES
Brother to the above Elizabeth Chambers
Who was shipwrecked in the
Grosvenor East Indiaman
August 24th 1782
On the Caffar Shore.

From this we gather that Elizabeth Chambers, before marriage, was a Miss James, and Eliza Harington, before marriage, a Miss Chambers. Burke's *Peerage* shows that the third wife of the Rev. Richard Harington (second son of Sir James Harington, Bart.) was "Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham Chambers, of Totteridge, Herts" ; but gives "21st Nov. 1783" as the date of that lady's death. Sir Robert Chambers was the son of Robert Chambers, an attorney of Newcastle, whose wife's maiden name was Metcalfe.

THE same little volume contains some epitaphs of special interest to us :—

Anglo-Indian Epitaphs in Middlesex.

ENFIELD. St. Andrew's Churchyard.

(1) To the memory of / the Right Honourable / MARIA MARGARET LADY NAPIER / who died / at Dacre Lodge in this Parish / the 29th December 1821 / In the 65th year of her Age. / Her Ladyship was the eldest daughter of / Lieut. Genl. Sir John Clavering, K.B. / by the Lady Diana West, / and wife of / Francis, the seventh Lord Napier.

---

(1) General Sir John Clavering
|
Maria Margaret = Francis, 8th Baron Napier
|
Sir Thomas Gibson = Hon. Anne Napier
Carmichael, 7th Bart.
|
Sir Alexander Gibson-Carmichael, 8th Bart. | Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, 9th Bart. | Sir Wm. Gibson-Carmichael, 10th Bart.
|
Sir Thos. David Gibson-Carmichael, created Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal.

HADLEY. St. Mary's Church.

Sacred to the Memory of / RICHMOND, / eldest son of Peter MOORE, Esq., Lord of this Manor, / and of Sarah, daughter of Colonel Richmond Webb, / who, / by the indulgence of nature, / and such powers of Intellect / As / while they exhibited Him to his own family, / in the valuable characters of / a dutiful and endearing son, / a tender and affectionate brother, / Obtained for Him also by this best pledge of future and more diffused utility / the respect and esteem of all who knew him. / Thus regarded while living he died much lamented. / October 14th 1796 in the 21st year of his Age. / While Grief by Patience is withstood, / Nature must pour her tear, / Even Virtue weeps when fall the Good, / And heaves a Sigh sincere.

Sacred / to the memory of / MACARTNEY MOORE, Esqre. / who departed this life after a long illness, / occasioned by many years' residence in India, / on the 15th June 1831, aged 43 years. / Having only been in England 11 months. / This monument is erected by his widow, / by whom his memory will ever be revered.

To the Memory of / HENRIETTA, widow of Macartney MOORE, Esq. / and youngest daughter of the late / John Halhed Esqre., / she died at her mother's house at Yately / in the country of Hampshire, / on the 25th of August 1837, / in the 36 year of her age, / and is interred in Yately Churchyard. / This tablet is erected as a token of affection / by her four children.

Sacred to the Memory of / MARIA SARAH MOORE, / who departed this life / on the 26th of January 1842 / aged 61 years, / and is interred in a vault on the south side of this / Church.

HADLEY. St. Mary's Churchyard.

Sacred to the Memory of / (1) AMELIA, wife of William / Makepeace Thackeray, Esqre. / of this Parish. / Who departed this Life / April the 29th 1810. / Also of the said WILLIAM / MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, Esq. / who departed the 11th day of March 1813 / In the 64th year of his Age.

In memory of / GEORGE WOOD, Esq. / Formerly Commander of the / H. E. I. C. Company's Ship / Charlton / who departed this Life / June 12th 1833 / [born] 10th September 1782, aged 55 years.

TOTTENHAM. All Saints' Churchyard.

Sacred / To the Memory of / HERBERT THOMAS, Esq. / A Lieutenant in the Royal Navy / A Brave and Deserving Officer / who spent the bloom of his youth / In the Naval Service of his Country in East Indies / was present at the taking of Angria the / Pirate Chandernagare Pondicherry & / was particularly noticed by his Commanding

(1) Amelia Webb married William Makepeace Thackeray, Jan. 31st. 1766, at Calcutta—the grandparents of the novelist. *B: P. & P.*, IV., p. 502.

Officer / Sir Samuel Cornish / for his Bravery and Gallant Conduct at the taking / of Manilla. / A chronic disorder brought on by his long and hard / service in that country rendered him incapable / of following his Profession at Sea / and after much painful and severe suffering / which he bore with great Christian fortitude / It pleased the Almighty to release him on / the 25th day of July 1793 / In the 48 year of his Age. / This tomb was erected by / Mrs. Sarah Boyer, his only surviving sister / In Testimony of / Her Regard for the Memory of a Beloved Brother.

Baron von Kutzleben.

CAN any one trace the military career in India of William, Baron von Kutzleben, who is stated to have died at Berhampur on October 10, 1836? From M. Christian de Parrel's *Les Papiers de Calonne* I learn that the Baron was the son of Maria Margaretha Wisner born at Marburg in 1735 or 1736. Christian was adopted on August 19, 1755 by a person, who may have been his father, Gottfried, Freiher von Kutzleben, an officer in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. After a distinguished military career in the service of the Landgrave, Christian, in 1774, was sent to London to receive the subsidies due for the service of the Hessian troops in English employ, and he afterwards resided in London till 1789 as Minister for Hesse at the Court of St. James. In December 1780 he married Dorothy Wrottesley. Of this marriage, Horace Walpole wrote "Miss Wrottesley's £500 will purchase a princely turnippery : but I doubt even that nor a baron will satisfy her for the capital she quits." Elizabeth, one of her sisters, married Augustus, 3rd Duke of Grafton—grandson of Charles II by Barbara Villiers. Another, Frances, married Admiral Hugh Pigot, brother to Sir George Pigot, the unfortunate Governor of Madras. Two of her sisters were maids-of-honour to Queen Charlotte. The father of these ladies was the Very Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley, Bart., Dean of Worcester, who, before his ordination, had represented Tavistock in Parliament from 1747 to 1754 ; their mother, Mary, was a daughter of John, 1st Earl of Gordon. Baron Christian in 1792 again represented the Landgrave at the Court of St. James. He died at Muswell Hill, 28th April 1798. His son, William, born May 4, 1785, entered the English army, and died at Berhampur. Of his first cousins, John Wrottesley, the ninth Baronet, was created Baron Wrottesley in 1838 : and Hugh, the third brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel on the Bengal Establishment, died in 1830.

The Maxtones.

MR. E. MAXTONE GRAHAM in his recently published *The Maxtones of Cultoquhey* brings into the light the Indian career of Anthony, 12th Laird Cultoquhey. Anthony was the seventh child and fourth son of James Mextone (d. 1798) by his wife Marjorie Greame of Balgowan, and grandson of Mungo Maxtone,

the 10th Laird, who had taken part in the Jacobite rising of 1715. The second of his elder brothers, John (b. 1766) at the age of 16 entered the East India Company's Naval Service. He sailed for India on 11 Sep. 1782, on a fine new ship, the *Fairford*, hired by the Company. Our author tells us that the Captain of this ship was John Haldane, elder illegitimate son of Brigadier General George Haldane of Gleneagles. Capt. Haldane had taken with him a well-known actress, Mrs. Gargill. The *Fairford* was lost by fire in Bombay Harbour in June 1783. Subsequently the Captain was placed in command of the *Nancy* packet, and this vessel, with all on board, perished on the rocks off the Scilly Isles, 5 Feb. 1784. The body of Mrs. Cargill, with her child in arms, was washed ashore. The family papers afford no further information as to John, but he entered the 4th Madras Cavalry and died at Trichinopoly, 4 May 1790. The third brother, Thomas, entered the Royal Navy.. In May 1788, he describes himself as having lost a good oppotunity by missing the chance of accompanying his brother-in-law, Col. Charles Cathcart, on the *Vestal* to India.

A Secret Mission.

CURIOSITY is aroused when we are told that Col. Cathcart died on the Vestal "while employed upon an undisclosed Government mission to the East." In 1793 Thomas was serving in a squadron of which "Admiral Gardner has the command and Commodore Murray is second." This is personally interesting because Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Murray was a son of that Lord George Murray, who was attainted after the rising of 1715 and again after that of 1745. Mr. Maxtone Graham's account of the Maxtone brothers is full of interest to all who would follow the story of their world-wide struggle between England and France at the close of the eighteenth century, although it must be confessed that the brothers disappoint us by their characteristic avoidance of a *qua magna pars fui*.

The voyage out in 1799.

WE now come to Anthony. After working some time in an office at Edinburgh, he attached himself to his uncle, Thomas Graham of Balgowan, and accompanied him with the Austrian Army against Bonaparte in 1796-97. He escaped the misery of the fall of Mantua, for his uncle had sent him to Venice in charge of his carriages and heavy luggage. Graham's daily despatches from the Austrian Headquarters are quoted in Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe* as depicting the tragic and sudden change from exaltation to despair. After a brief connection with the 9th or Royal Perthshire Militia, Anthony was on the 24th November 1799 appointed a cadet in the East India Company's Service, and joined the Bengal European Regiment. A letter to his sister, Helen (1 May, 1799) shows that Anthony missed his passage on the Lord Hawkesbury, and consequently was compelled "to join the

3rd mates' mess" of the Asia, a vessel he expected would "be so crowded that there will hardly be room to turn", for "I am told there will be upwards of 50 passengers on board . . . . . but we get out for half the money, so that is one comfort." He would also have the pleasure of seeing both Peter and Charles at Madras, which "I could not have had in the *Lord Hawkesbury,* as she was to go to St. Helena". He finds himself pretty tightly packed up. "There are certainly too many in our ship, there are 31 at our table and as many at the Captain's, the greatest difficulty was the stowing us at night, but we now do pretty well. Our cots were all cut down into hammocks and we have only 18 inches to swing in . . . . . . there are 4 ladies, 2 of them being Misses are of course adventurers, the other 2 are provided for, the one having a husband on board and the other being mother to one of the Misses. I really don't know whether she is a widow or not . . . . . P. S. I have just been getting a good ducking from Mr. Neptune, and am as wet and dirty as can be." To his brother, James, he writes on the 12th August 1800, from Barrackpur, that the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, "goes home for certain this year", and "General Lake is currently expected to be his successor." He prefers being at Barrackpur to being sent upcountry on the ground that, "although allowances in the field are nearly double what they are here, the expenses of field equipage are considerable," and also for the philosophic reason "by being some time on half Batta, I shall enjoy the double full the more when I get it". He mentions Lord Hastings' intention to found a College at Calcutta, and wonders "how John Company will relish the expense of it, for I believe he has not had their opinion yet". He gives as his address "2nd Battn. 6th Reg. Native Infantry, Bengal."

Captain Anthony Maxtone.

EARLY in February 1801, Patrick Maxtone, a younger brother, writes from Rajahmundry, "Anthony was very well when I last heard in May. He has been lucky enough to get out in a Secret Expedition that sailed for Bengal and this Country . . . . . some say that it is destined against Batavia and Manilla, others against Mauritius. Likewise a report is spread that it is going to act against the French in Egypt". The last of those reports proved to be true. A letter from Rosetta to his sister, Mrs. Stewart, dated 4 Sept. 1801, shows that Anthony and his party arrived too late for them to take part in "the glorious actions" which "will show the world what stuff a British soldier is made of". They had hoped to assist at the taking of Alexandria, but "the first news we heard on our arrival here a few days ago was that M. Menon had capitulated". Mr. Maxtone Graham has nothing to tell us about Anthony in the time between his return to Bengal and the part he took with the storming company of the Bengal European Regiment at the siege of Deeg in the Bharatpur Campaign of 1805 ; save that he seems to have planned a siege of Agra that never came off. At Deeg he was so severely wounded in the head that, but for

the persistent efforts of a surgeon, he would have been left among the dead on the battlefield. On the recommendation of Col. Graham, he was in 1805 transferred to the 27th Regiment N. I. then raising at Futtehghur, and appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster. About this time family debts seem to have been pressing hard, and he find his sister suggesting a plan of making a fortune quickly. "Were I at home," he replied, "I don't but know I might be inclined to follow your sage advice. But ladies who come to this country are in general so needy that it is only to look for riches that they come." It was not till 1811 that Anthony became a captain ; three years later he retired from the Bengal Army. He apparently had been able to build up a small fortune in India. But how?

Surgeon Patrick Maxtone.

PATRICK, a younger brother of Anthony Maxtone, entered in the Company's medical service. On March the 22nd, 1799, he writes to his sister, Mrs. Stewart of Ardvorlich, from the *Alfred* at Portsmouth :

> "We have pretty full ship, 22 will dine at the Captain's table. There is 5 Lady passengers but I have only seen 2 of them. The others are not yet come on board. One of them is a daughter of Lord Winterton's who has married a Mr. Richardson, who is going out a writer to Madras.. The other is Miss Cochrane, a niece of Lord Dundonald, who is going out to look for a husband. She is pretty tolerable and will look well enough at sea, when we can no longer see those we left behind. We are just now beginning unmooring, but I don't think we sail till to-morrow."

He arrived at Madras six months too late to have had a change of taking part in the storming of Seringapatam. In a letter to his brother James he says that "some individuals made immense fortunes" on that occasion. "The storming party were allowed a certain number of hours to plunder, and the quantity of Jewels and gold taken in that time was very great." After being appointed to the General Hospital, he was given charge of two small garrisons, Samalcottah and Rajahmundry, when he found himself "pleasantly enough situated with regard to society, excellent shooting and all kinds of games." In 1803 Patrick had taken a passage home on the United Kingdom. He died aboard the ship, 16th July 1803, aged twenty years.

Another connection of the Maxtones' with Bengal may be traced in William Stewart, the fourth son of Helen (née Maxtone), the wife of William Stewart, 7th of Ardvorlich. William the younger married Charlotte Althanas, daughter of a Greek merchant at Calcutta.

"Bob" Pott's Wife: A Correction.

IT has hitherto been taken for granted that Sarah Cruttenden, the wife of Hickey's friend "Bob" Pott, was the daughter of Edward Holden Cruttenden who was second in council at Fort William from 1753 to 1755 and whose house and grounds, situated immediately to the North of the old Fort, are conspicuously marked in William's map of 1756. But it would appear from a genealogical tree prepared by Mr. Stanley Pott that "Bob" Pott's wife (whom he married at Berhampore in 1788 and who died at Dacca in 1807) was the daughter of E. H. Cruttenden's brother, Joseph Cruttenden, and his wife Alice; and that E. H. Cruttenden, daughter, another Sarah, married one John Randall. These facts are corroborated by the entry in Christie's catalogue when Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait group of "The Children of E. H. Cruttenden" was sold on June 8, 1928, for 7,500 guineas. The picture was painted about the year 1763. The statement made at page 143 of Vol. XXXVI should therefore be corrected as regards Mrs. Robert Pott.

A scene on Calcutta Racecourse.

THE following is an extract from the *Sporting Review* of July, 1841 :—

"The confidence of a horse in a firm rider and his own courage is great, as was conspicuously evinced in the case of an Arab possessed by the late General Sir Robert R. Gillespie, who, being present on the racecourse of Calcutta during one of the great Hindu festivals, when several thousand people may be assembled to witness all kinds of show, was suddenly alarmed by the shrieks of the crowd, and informed that a tiger had escaped from his keepers.

"The Colonel immediately called for his horse, and grasping a boar-spear, which was in the hands of one of the crowd, rode to attack this formidable enemy. The tiger was probably amazed at finding himself in the middle of such a number of shrieking people flying from him in all directions, but the moment he perceived Sir Robert he crouched with the attitude of preparing to spring at him, and that instant the gallant soldier passed his horse in a leap over the tiger's back and struck the spear through his spine. The horse was a small grey, afterwards sent home by him a present to the Prince Regent.

"When Sir Robert fell at the storming of Kalunga his favourite black charger, bred at the Cape of Good Hope, and carried by him to India, was, at the sale of his effects, competed for by several of his officers, and finally knocked down to the privates of the 8th Dragoons, who contributed their prize-money to the amount of £500 to retain the commemoration of their late commander.

"Thus, the charger was always led at the head of the Regiment on a march, and at the station of Cawnpore was usually indulged with taking his ancient position at the colour stand. . . . . When the

Regiment was ordered home, the funds of the privates running low he was bought for the same sum by a relative of the author, who provided funds and a paddock for him where he might end his days in comfort, but when the Corps had marched and the sound of the trumpet had departed he refused to eat, and on the first opportunity being led out to exercise he broke away from his groom and, galloping to his ancient station on the parade ground, after neighing aloud, dropped down dead."

Sikh Documents.

TWO Sikh documents of some interest have come to light. The first is an agreement in Persian dated the 12th Asoj 1902, corresponding to October 1845 A.D., whereby the Sikh military officers whose signatures are affixed, give allegiance to Rani Jindan, the widow of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and undertake that they will cross the river Sutlej after the Dusehra celebrations to wage war against the British. The second is a list of the officers of the regular army (infantry, cavalry and artillery) in the service of the Lahore Darbar in 1842-43. It is about sixteen feet long, on Kashmir paper, beautifully written in Persian and Gurmukhi, with very fine golden drawing on the side margin and the middle line. At the end of the two Panjabi legends in the second line of this document are the words "Kurt Pharasis" and "Avitavil Pharasis": that is to say, Court the European and Avitabile the European. The other Panjabi legends are regimental numbers (*paltan pahali, paltan dusri,* and so on) and Sikh or Panjabi personal names, followed by designations of rank such as *Kamedama* (Commandant), *Karnail* (Colonel), *Mihjar* (Major), and *Ajitan* (adjutant). Both documents are likely to be acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall.

The Oriental Obituary.

AN uncommon book dealing with monumental inscriptions in India is Urquhart's Oriental Obituary. The late Mr. J. J. Cotton, in the introduction to his *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras* (1905), wrote that the third volume of Urquhart's work, though projected, was never published ; and that of the first two volumes only two copies, so he believed, then survived—one in the Archbishop Goethals Library at Calcutta, and the other in the possession of Mr. Edward Wenger of the Bengal Secretariat. These statements need revision in the light of a note supplied to the new defunct *Scottish Notes and Queries* for September 1932 by Dr. J. M. Bulloch. He gives the following bibliographical details of Urquhart's production, deriving them, we believe, from copies at the British Museum :—

"The ORIENTAL OBITUARY : as a record to perpetuate the memory of the dead ; being an impartial compilation from monumental inscriptions on tombs of those persons whose ashes are

deposited in these remote parts of the world since the formation of European settlements to the present time. To which is added biographical sketches, anecdotes, etc., illustrative of the public services, general characters and virtues of departed worth."

By William Urquhart, and printed by him at the Journal Press, Madras. 12mo. Vol. I (1809), pp. xviii + 239 + [1]. Vol. II (1810), pp. xii + 272. Vol. III (1813), pp. xiv + 202.

In a note in the same periodical for the following November, Major V. C. P. Hodson gave some biographical particulars of Urquhart. He was buried at St. Mary's Cemetery, Madras, on 27 Sept. 1821, and is described in the Register as a journalist. He was sometime editor of the *Madras Courier*. He married at Madras, in May 1801, Harriet Bewley, when he was described as "printer of the Madras Gazette". He evidently married again, as in his Will, dated 20 July 1821, he mentions his wife Elizabeth, his two sons Gilbert and Robert William, and his daughter Mary Euphemia, widow of George Dennis McCarthy. One Gilbert Urquhart was buried at Madras on 1 July 1833.

To this we may add that, according to Malden's *Burials* in Madras, one Robert William Urquhart, press proprietor, was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery on 19 Dec. 1858 : this must have been the second son, and one wonders whether the printing and journalistic activities of the family continued after his death.

Hastings' Letters.

WE have noticed one or two MS. letters of Warren Hastings in booksellers' catalogues which may deserve to be noted here. In November 1931 Messrs. Goodspeed, of Boston, U. S. A., quoted the following extract from an undated letter in their possession :—

"'If I had not, through my defect of hearing, misunderstood Mrs. Hastings, I should not have ventured to promise your Ladyship as a delicacy, what she says, and I am inclined to confess it bears so much the resemblance of a dose of bark ; but having made the promise, I must perform it ; and request that to remove the odium cast upon it, you will have the goodness to order the contents of the phial to be transferred to smaller phials with ground stoppers, being first shaken. A single drop will be a sufficient seasoning."

In 1935 Messrs. E. M. Lawson & Co., of Sutton Coldfield, had on offer a single page folio, signed by Warren Hastings, Philip Francis, and Eyre Coote, as from the Supreme Council, Fort William, dated 23rd August 1779, and addressed to Nathaniel Middleton at Lucknow, acknowledging receipt of letters and documents. With this was an engraved admission sheet for the seventh day of Hastings' trial, with the signature and seal of Lord Teynham.

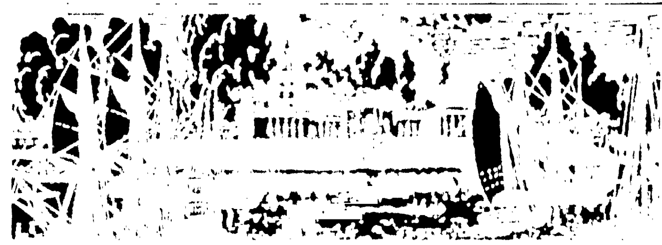
LETTERS from members of Mountstuart Elphinstone's mission to Kabul, summarized in Vol. XI (1811) of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, supply us with the name of a European deserter from the Company's service who has somehow escaped inclusion in Messrs. Grey and Garrett's "European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785—1849." The extract in question, which is dated from Multan, December 12, 1808, runs as follows :

John Pensley, a Deserter.

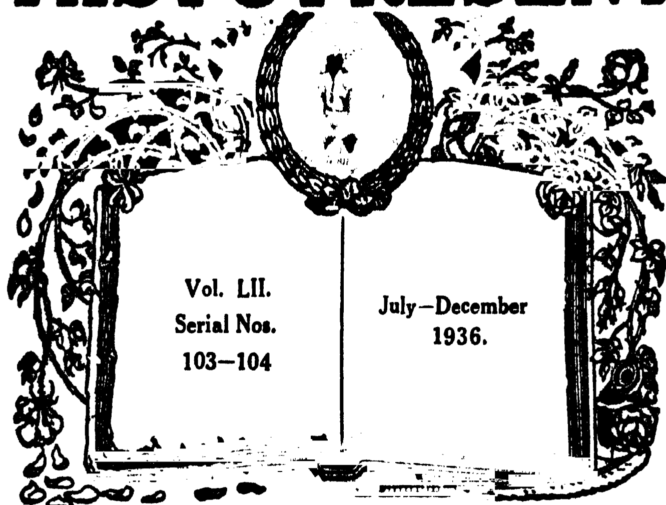
"An European deserter from the company's provinces, named John Pensley, had lately come into the camp, who stated that he had been two or three years in the service of the nawaub Moozuffer Khan, and that there were two others of his comrades in the same situation, and a third who was kept in confinement at Minkeree, by Mohammed Khan. They received an allowance of sixty rupees per month, and lived very comfortably with their wives in the fort of Sujabad, about eighteen miles distant from Mooltan. Pensley wore the Hindoostanee dress, and had all the appearance of a native."

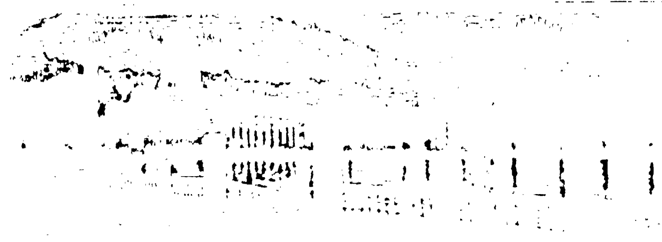
THE following particulars regarding Charles Fuller Martyn, Sheriff of Calcutta, amplify the note which appeared at Vol. XXXVIII, p. 104. A son of the Rev. Charles Martyn, of Charleston, South Carolina, by Sarah, daughter of William Fuller, he was born on Nov. 11, 1758. He was admitted to Westminster School on Nov. 6, 1770, and became a King's Scholar in 1772. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, on May 31, 1780, and was called to the bar by the Inner Temple in 1785.

C. F. Martyn, Sheriff of Calcutta.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT





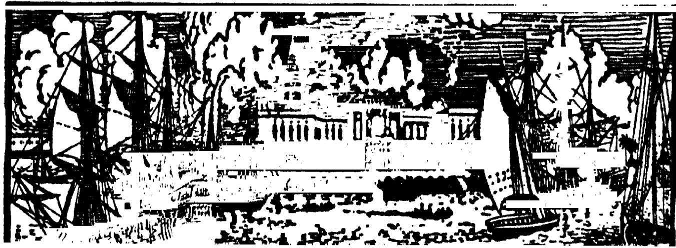
JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS.

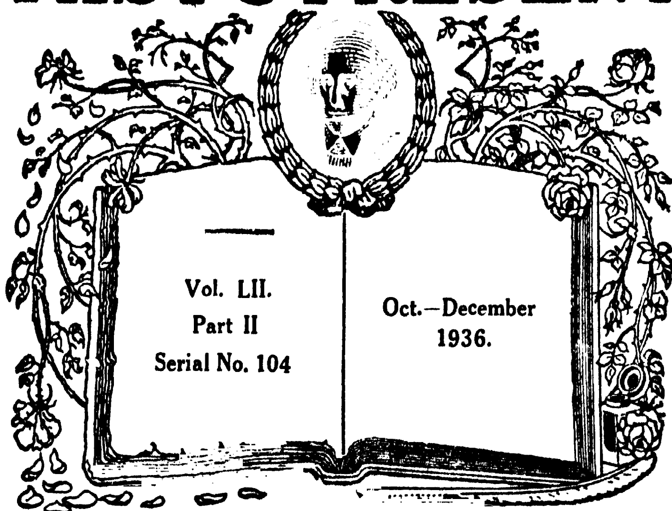
ARTICLES.

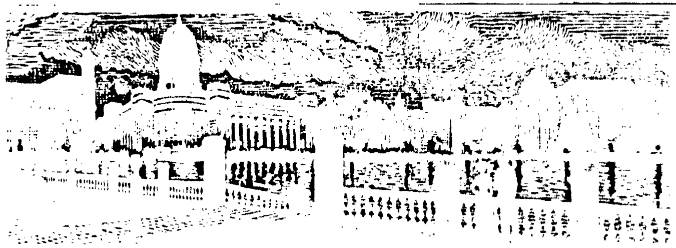
ILLUSTRATIONS





BENGAL PAST & PRESENT





JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Memoir of Monsieur Rene Madec.

(Bib. Nat. Nouvelles acquisition, francais, 9,368.)

Part II. (After the battle of Buxar.)

The English army rested at Buxar to reestablish themselves with the object of putting themselves in a condition to undertake the conquest of the country of Shuja-ud-daulah.

We marched to Allahabad, where we stayed for some time, during which the Nawab fell ill of vexation at having lost that battle. During this interval my wound was healed, and after being restored to health I went to see him. He loaded me with courtesy and presented many very rich things to me and honoured me with the grade (? *mansab*) which are given to the superior officers in this country.

Here soldiers who are once beaten lose heart entirely, and although the Nawab foresaw well the loss of his estates, he nevertheless, made one more effort for delivering a second battle. We left Allahabad for that object, and after many days of marching the two armies came face to face. But after the first efforts terror seized our army and the Nawab retreated in disorder, on seeing himself abandoned by his men, to Lucknow with a precipitation without an equal. I retreated in good order with the Minister of the Prince, who fell back upon me with some troops whom he rallied by degrees, and we took the road to Lucknow for joining the Nawab. The equipages of the Prince were pillaged by his own subjects. The peasants profited by this rout and plundered also and made the greatest injury. I lost only a little.

On arriving at Lucknow we saw the Nawab, who took his measures for saving himself and, abandoning his estates, going to seek asylum with his neighbours. He left authority with Beni Bahadur, his Minister, for maintaining as far as he could the few troops that remained out of a large army, and soon afterwards departed with his women and riches for going to the other side of the Ganges. He crossed the river 40 leagues from Lucknow. He had ordered Beni Bahadur to make some terms with the English who advanced in proportion as all fled before them. They laid siege to Allahabad and subjected a large country to their domination in a short time.

I remained with the Minister at Lucknow to work for the peace arrangement. I was inconsolable at the ruin of a prince who loved me and whom I would have persuaded subsequently to make efforts for restoring to my nation what it had lost in Bengal, if he could have had the least advantage

over the English. On the other hand, I saw myself enveloped in his loss as a necessary consequence of my desertion from the English: I saw no means of rejoining my nation about which there was no longer any talk in the Indies, as if it had never existed. All these considerations and the fatigue of a tumultous life made me willing to profit by the interval that remained to me to enjoy the distinguished rank in which I was, and therefore I asked in marriage the daughter of a lord (1) whose parents were Christians. She was accorded to me as soon as asked for, and I was betrothed in expectation of the time when the age of my future spouse and a more peaceful period would permit me to be united to her.

During this time the English continued to advance and took possession of the most important places of the Nawab. The Minister indeed worked for peace terms, but well in opposition to the interests of his master, and I knew not the least thing [about it]. He tried to get me on his side and flattered me with [hopes of] the most brilliant advantages in case he succeeded. The English, however, marched towards Lucknow ; I imparted my scruples to the Minister who agreed to procure for me a retreat in a district, about 40 leagues away, belonging to the Nawab. I departed for going to that district, but no sooner had I done so than I learnt of the arrival of the enemy army at Lucknow, and not wishing to wait where I was I took the part of going to join the Nawab at Farrukhabad, where he had taken refuge. This country is under the rule of the Pathans and is separated from the estates of the Nawab by the Ganges only.

I found the prince ready to set out on a march for making a third attempt against the English. He had with him Maratha troops whom he had called to his aid by paying them, and others whom he had raised in the country of the Pathans, and some Pathan troops also which they had given him as auxiliaries. The soldiers of this country regulate their conduct according to the circumstances, and it matters little whether they are paid before or after the enterprise. But I could not support myself with my men in that manner, they being habituated to be paid regularly ; and as the prince was no longer drawing any revenue from his country, he did not wish to deplete himself of the money which still remained with him in the situation in which he found himself,—I saw myself forced to dismiss the greatest part of my followers, and keep only what I was in a condition to maintain from my own resources ; and in that state I followed the Nawab who marched towards Allahabad, but in the neighbourhood of Kora-Jahanabad he found the English army which was coming to encounter him. But the mere presence of his enemies routed his troops almost without a fight, and the allies abandoned him. The unhappy prince was compelled to return to Farrukhabad with precipitation, where I followed him. While on the way, the Minister Beni Bahadur joined him ; he had conducted negotiations with the English in such a way that he would have dispossessed his master in order to reign in his place. But they having demanded from

(1) Marianne, daughter of Augustine Barbette, born 8 August 1753.

him his wives as hostages, he could not agree to it ; so he took flight and came to find the Nawab out.

The reputation which I had acquired in that battle of Buxar and since I was in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, caused me to be sought for by many princes who wished to draw me to their service. Above all, the former wazir Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who was a refugee with the Nawab Ahmad Khan [Bangash] of Farrukhabad ; after the disgrace of the Emperor he made many moves on this subject ; but not wishing to abandon the prince whom I had served with as much attachment as I had received benefits from him. I rejected the offers of all those who made them to me.

However, the Nawab entered into an agreement [with the English] by the mediation of M. Gentil, an officer of the [French royal] troops in India, who had retired to Shuja-ud-daulah's court after the fall of our nation. This officer showed to the English how very important it was for them to interpose a buffer (*barrier*) between Patna and the Ganges, in order to assure the peace which was then necessary for them for consolidating their possessions ; that that barrier was the Nawab's country, which could not be better governed than by the legitimate prince.

As these reasons coincided with the views of the English, they had no trouble to agree to it. It was then decided after many conferences that the Nawab should be recalled, and as M. Gentil had employed his mediation, he wrote to him assuming him that he could blindly trust in their promises. When all things were thus disposed of, he marched before them to place himself at their discretion.

Before departing Shuja-ud-daulah told me about his affairs and made for me a plan for the future, but he foresaw well that I could not join him because of the English whom I dreaded and of whom he had necessarily to be the ally. He permitted me to search for any other service, in expectation of the time when he could find an opening for recalling me. It was then that I began to make a new party (or force).

During this interval, and the Nawab having departed for re-entering into his dominions, the wazir Ghazi-ud-din Khan, having been informed that I was quitting the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, sent to me a person of consideration to request me to go and see him. I was immediately accompanied by that lord to the place. Ghazi-ud-din received me with distinction and with all the demonstrations of a special esteem. He gave me presents which it is customary to make in this country to noble persons, and next proposed to me to take service with him, although he was not in a condition to give me a large pay. As it was necessary for increasing my renown to cling to something, I promised to him to do all that depended on me to oblige him. I took my leave of him and returned to my camp.

I was well content to have found service so promptly. I occupied myself in putting my troops in order, who amounted to about 400 men, and four days after that interview I returned to his side for making him pass my detachment in review, and I was from that moment accounted as in his service.

The Marathas, natives of the Deccan, have usurped like the Ruhelas a portion of the territory of Hindustan after the ruin of the Empire, and when I took service with Ghazi-ud-din Khan, these two powers were engaged in war with each other. Ghazi-ud-din Khan marched with the small force which he had, of which my troop formed the chief portion, and went to offer his mediation to the Ruhelas and the Marathas ; we encamped with the army of the former and the chief [of the Ruhelas] came to salute Ghazi-ud-din. I was present at this visit, and after many compliments they spoke of the war and the means of ending it ; they were besieging a fort which the Marathas occupied and from which it was necessary to dislodge them in order to be able to enter into an accommodation. The Ruhela chief prayed to my chief to persuade me to help him in this operation ; I accepted the offer and held myself ready to march. It was already long since the siege had commenced without the besiegers gaining any advantage. I went to visit the artillery of the Ruhelas ; I chose four pieces out of them which suited me and I marched to the siege with my troop. On arriving I took my measurements for establishing my batteries and I pressed them so for nearly eight hours that at the end of that time the place capitulated, and a little afterwards peace was concluded between the two powers.

I returned to the camp after the place had been surrendered, and the chiefs showed their gratitude by means of presents. After that each party thought only of entering into quarters as is the custom during the rains. And when I prepared myself for following the Nawab [ex-] Wazir for returning to Farrukhabad, they [the Ruhela Chiefs] sent a deputation to me to propose to me to take service with them. I did not decisively promise to accept it ; I told them that it would not be convenient for me to quit the Prince with whom I was, without his consent. But as it was beyond his power to pay me, there would be no difficulty in making him consent to it. I promised to them to give my reply in a few days ; they left their deputies with me and took the road to Bareilly, their capital city. I followed the Nawab [ex-] Wazir to Farrukhabad and as soon as I was there I communicated to him the offers which the Ruhelas had made to me. He tried to induce me to remain, but I placed before him so many valuable reasons that at last he consented to let me depart.

It was towards the end of 1765 that I joined the army of the Ruhelas with the deputies whom they had sent to me. I was received by the Nawab with open arms.

The Ruhelas began by assigning to me ten thousand Rupees a month as pay for me and my troops. I chose six pieces of cannon in their artillery which I mounted in the European style. I made munition-waggons and other requisites of artillery and increased my force ; that was entirely how I employed my time during the time that the rains lasted in this country, that is to say, about four months.

They spoke of setting out on campaign very soon ; I was destined to go into the country conquered from the Marathas for preserving it and

making it pay revenue. They sent me with the faujdar or governor of the district. We both departed for going with my party which was then 800 men, but we found difficulties which it was necessary to surmount by blows. The inhabitants retired into the forts. It was necessary to attack them for reducing them and making them submit ; and in the space of two months I took 18 or 20 of them both by siege and by terms. This being done, the others submitted of themselves. After that we remained in peace for four or five months. I wished to profit by this time of relaxation to perform my marriage [at Paphund, in 1766].

We had not any expedition to make during the rest of that year, and the rainy season being near I received orders to go into quarters, and for this purpose I departed for Bareilly with my camp and my family, and on my arrival I received from the Nawab an elephant and an aigrette as presents. I remained quiet during the time the rains lasted.

The princes of this country are very eager to have Europeans in their service ; they bid very high of which they perform nothing. It is also very difficult to draw from them the pay which they have agreed to give. It was this which led to disputes between me and the Ruhelas during my monsoon quarters. I demanded from them [pay for] the three months of campaign which was due to me. They told me in reply that it was the usage among them not to pay anything to the troops during the rainy season, and that I ought to conform to this rule. This was not to my inclination, but I took the part of dissembling ; I however insisted on payment for the three months [of campaign], but without entering into other explanations. Instead of three, they paid me for only one month. My troops mutinied, and in order to appease them I was constrained to pay them out of my money what was due to them.

I warned the Ruhela chief that I could not maintain myself in his service in such onerous conditions as those imposed on me by him. At the end of the rainy season, we set out on campaign, during which I was as badly paid as when in garrison. I did what I could to satisfy my followers with the object to having the power to dispose of them at need, it being my plan, as soon as the campaign was finished, to take service elsewhere. . . . . .

Shuja-ud-daulah, seeing that the Marathas had retired to the Deccan and that they had left in the places [of Hindustan] conquered by them only governors and very few troops, set out on the march to resume the plans which he had been compelled to abandon before, as also did other princes of Hindustan. He succeeded very soon [*Note* : he captured Etawa fort from the Marathas about 16 Dec. 1773] ; and as he was not far from Gohad and loved the Rajah and me, he wrote and pressed us much to come and see him. I refused many times. . . . . He wrote again to the Rajah [of Gohad] to persuade me absolutely to come and see him at least, which he (the Rajah) made with ardour, recalling to my memory how Shuja had bestowed favours on me since the commencement of my entrance into Hindustan, ... However, we departed and were received (by Shuja) with open arms.

The Nawab gave us presents and feasted us so much that, not being habituated to *liquors composed of opium*, I remained asleep during many days, to the great alarm of my family and friends. At last I having awoke, he pressed me with many favours which I could not refuse, to place myself again in his service for a particular expedition with his own troops and those of the Rajah [of Gohad] and a part of my forces. We had not ang great success [*Note*: this was N'amat Kh's expedition against Gangadhar and Balaji, the sons of Govind Pant Bundele,—battle on 23 April 1774—described in *Imad-us-Sadat* and *Calendar, Perss. Corr.* iv. No. 1044.]

But during all that time the English, who had emissaries at the Court of the Nawab for spying out all his steps and saw the flattering welcome which Shuja had made to me and the return of the confidence which my father-in-law [Augustine Barbette] and myself had enjoyed there,—the more were the English determined against me in order to remove me from there. During this interval an English brigade had arrived there [in Shuja's dominions] under the pretext of aiding the Nawab in an expedition against the Ruhelas. The prince, seeing that they were going to recall the brigade if he kept with himself me and some other Frenchmen whom he still retained with him (but) without arms, decided against his real wishes to advise me to go to Delhi to his relative Najaf Khan. . . . . He sent me what was due to me for the period during which I had served him.(2)

JADU NATH SARKAR.

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(2) Madec was dismissed by Shuja by a letter dated 14 May 1774, *Calendar P. C.* IV, No. 1073.

Dr. John Leyden and Sir William Burroughs

THE following account of a dispute between Sir William Burroughs, William Hickey's *bête-noire*, and the celebrated John Leyden is based on an early copy of Leyden's defence, which does not appear to have been published. The copy is in the possession of Dr. John Leyden Morton (grandson of Leyden's cousin and biographer, the Rev. James Morton), who has kindly allowed the writer to use it.

The main facts of Leyden's extraordinary career are sufficiently well known. Here it will be enough to mention briefly the succession of events which brought him to the scene of conflict. The son of a Scottish Border shepherd, he had arrived in India in 1803, equipped with a doctor's degree and surgeon's diploma, a considerable reputation as a poet and a man of general erudition, and an eagerness to master all the languages of the East only equalled by his confidence that he could do it. Originally appointed to Madras as surgeon, he had in the course of voyages necessitated by sickness reached Calcutta in February, 1806. (1) His return to his own Presidency was delayed nearly two years by sickness (2) and by his efforts to obtain a post in Calcutta, in which he was particularly helped by his friend John Malcolm, who was determined to get him out of Madras at all costs. (3) In the course of this time he established his reputation as an Orientalist.

After the arrival of Lord Minto in October, 1807, there was no more question of Madras. The new Governor-General, besides being a patron of letters, was a Borderer, and henceforth he treated Leyden, in the latter's own words, "more like a son than any thing else." (4) Leyden was placed on the

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(1) Leyden's journal of his voyage from Penang to Calcutta, commenced 17th January, 1806 (Copy, M.). In these footnotes, M. refers to MSS. in the possession of the Morton family, to whom the writer is indebted for permission to use them; EBCA, to MSS. belonging to the Edinburgh Border Counties Association, who have kindly placed them at the disposal of students in the National Library of Scotland.

(2) Letters to William Erskine, the Orientalist, 29th July, 1806, and to Mrs. Stamford Raffles, "God knows what day," October, [?1806] (both EBCA).

(3) Letters to Mrs. Raffles, quoted above, and to Erskine, 1st June, 1807 (EBCA); Erskine, 1st June, 1807 (EBCA); Erskine, paper read to the Bombay Literary Society after Leyden's death (copy, M.); Malcolm, letter to Leyden, 5th November, 1807 (M.) He actually sailed for Madras in June, 1807, to take up the post of head of the institution newly founded there for the instruction of writers in languages, but was compelled to return by a mutiny of the crew: letters to Erskine, 1st June, 1807, and to Mrs. Raffles, 10th May, 1808 (both EBCA); Minute of Lord W. Bentinck, 27th September, 1807 (copy, M.).

(4) Letter to parents, 20th August, 1809 (M.).

establishment of the College of Fort William at the end of 1807 and, about the same time or at the beginning of 1808, was made Judge of the 24-Parganas. (5) That a not very senior member of the Madras medical establishment should have been given an appointment in Bengal normally held by civilians, must be put down to Minto's patronage.

Sir William Burroughs, Bart., a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court since 1806, (6) had arrived in Bengal, a penniless barrister, in 1789. (7) He must have had ability, for he made a fortune in a very short time (8) and was appointed Advocate-General in 1792 ; (9) before they quarrelled Hickey was glad to secure him for a client. (10) But, even if he did not deserve the epithets of "upstart hound," "mean wretch," "disagreeable and offensive coxcomb," and "impudent blackground Irishman" which Hickey lavishes on him, (11) he seems, from a story recorded against him in Kaye's life of Malcolm, to have been generally regarded as an absurd, consequential little man. (12)

When, about the beginning of August, 1808, he reported Leyden to the Governor-General in Council for insolence to his own office and person and for refusing to do his duty as a magistrate, he can hardly have anticipated what he was bringing on himself. Leyden was physically and mentally boisterous, argumentative, always convinced that he was in the right, ready to stand up to any man, whatever his rank, and endowed with strong principles and the brains to defend them. The sickness of India had shrivelled his body and tamed his manners to some extent, (13) but the *praefervidum ingenium* was undiminished.

"I have a good glib tongue,
To talk both fast and free.
The fellow shall soon be flung,
That dare to meddle with me.
Then who dare meddle, dare meddle,
Then who dare meddle with me?

(5) Letter to Mrs. Raffles, 10th May, 1808 (he has held these posts "for nearly half a year"); Erskine's paper, quoted; D. G. Crawford, *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, 1930; etc. At this time the civil judge of the 24 Parganas did not act as magistrate; the latter office was exercised by the justices of the peace for Calcutta and "such persons as the Governor General in Council may hereafter appoint", of whom Leyden may have been one (Reg. VII of 1806, Preamble and §§ 2, 6, 7). Leyden does not appear in the E. I. Register as a J. P.

(6) Hickey, vol. iv, p. 342. For Burroughs's career, see *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. xxx, pp. 176-7.

(7) *Id.*, vol. iii, p. 351.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 392.

(9) *Id.*, vol. iv, p. 66.

(10) *Id.*, vol. iii, p. 366.

(11) *Passim.*

(12) Vol. i, p. 428, n.

(13) Letters to Erskine, 29th July, 1806 (EBCA), and to Mrs. (Advocate General) Robert Smith, 12th June, 1805 (copy, M.).

"I have a gray goose quill,
That writes both fast and free.
The fellow shall have his fill,
That dares to meddle with me.
Then who dare meddle," etc.

So he had written, to the tune of the old bragging Border song of *Little Jock Elliot*. (14)

Burroughs was to have his fill. Leyden, who as a very young man in Edinburgh had attacked the great Pinkerton on the subject of the ancient Scottish language, (15) and as a surgeon not long arrived in Madras had severely criticized a volume of *Asiatic Researches*, (16) and in his present post had written "three or four defences of my own conduct . . . . from charges drawn upon me by my old inflexible perseverance in what I judged right." (17) replied with a thundering torrent of argument.

His defence is contained in a letter addressed to W. B. Bayley, Register of the Court of Nizamat Adalat (which supervised the whole administration of criminal justice), dated 10th August, 1808. It is too long to reproduce in full, but the following extracts may serve to tell the story, to illustrate Leyden's personality, and to show the skill with which, in an argument which reads as if poured out in one warm outburst of indignation, he scored every possible point, left improprieties in his opponent's conduct to be inferred without positively accusing him of them, and buffeted him with ridicule while never departing—or hardly ever departing—from a correct manner in speaking of him.

In the absence of Burroughs's account, we must take Leyden's word for what happened, therein at least agreeing with the body which adjudicated on the dispute.

"The following are the circumstances . . . according to the best of my recollection. One day towards the end of July, I believe on the 26th of the month, as I was sitting in the Cutcherry investigating an important case of *dacoity* or gang-robbery, and closely engaged in the cross-examination of witnesses, I was interrupted by the Nazir, who stated that Sir W. Burroughs's Jemmadar had come with a message. As soon as I was able, I turned to one side to receive it, and asked what it was. The Jemmadar certainly began with the expression of 'Sir W. Burroughs Saheb apko bhot bhot salam,' etc., and went on with a speech which I very soon interrupted by enquiring if he had brought a letter, to which he answered no, for that he had been sent to make a complaint. I asked if he was the complainant. He said no. I asked if the complainant was present, and what was the complaint ; he said he was, and that the complaint was "Marupeet o loot o taruj', assault and

(14) Letter to Mordaunt Ricketts, Bengal Civil Service, 1st February, 1805 (copy, M.).
(15) *Scots Magazine*, May, 1795.
(16) Letter to Erskine, 27th November, 1804 (EBCA).
(17) Letter to Mrs. Raffles, 10th May, 1808.

plundering. I said, is it plundering? or is it assault? He said it was assault and began what I took to be a circumstantial detail.

"As no doubt remained with me that the case was very trifling, and not such as to require my interrupting the more important cause in which I was engaged, I desired him to cause it to be written in Bengalee on Stamp-paper, and to cause the complainant to be ready to swear to it when I should be at leisure to hear the complaint, and to return my Salams to his master. I found however that he was still inclined to proceed with his detail, and as my attention was imperiously called for by the case in hand, I told him the Salam was sufficient, that if there was any thing more to be mentioned, a letter was necessary, and repeated my desire to have the complaint written in Bengalee, pointing also to the place occupied by the Bengalee writers. To this the Jemmadar answered 'bhot atcha' and went away as I thought to give directions for that purpose." As soon as the gang-robbery case was adjourned, Leyden asked for the servants, but they had disappeared.

"Next day, while engaged in the same manner, and engrossed entirely in what was going on, Sir W. Burroughs's *Chobdar* with his silver *chôb* in a formal manner entered the Foujdary Cutcherry, and to my great surprize began to deliver the same message again"—this time "with a loud voice, and consequential air, to this effect, 'Sir W. Burroughs presents his compliments ; he sends his cook to make a complaint, and desires you to detain him as short a time as you can.' " Leyden could not believe that Burroughs had sent him such a message, and could only suppose that the servants had exceeded or falsified their commission. "I immediately interrupted him with words to the following purpose, 'Have I not ordered the complaint to be written down in Bengalee? It will be examined. It is only evidence which I want, and nobody's name or Salam will be of the least consequence. Then what is the use of bringing me that of Sir W. Burroughs so often in a cause?' The Chobdar however still proceeded as if to deliver a mesage from Sir W. Burroughs, on which I told him, 'That cannot be. It is not the English custom, I do not believe you. A letter is always necessary when there is any thing more than Salam.' On this he took his departure, and I went on with my cause . . . . . It was here that I used the expression, 'Ghurree ghurree Burroughs Saheb ka nam, ghurree ghurree Burroughs Saheb ka Salam,' and it is easy from the context to perceive its application, viz., 'When evidence is all that is necessary, what is the use of bringing me a name, or Salam?" He adds that he is after this lapse of time uncertain about the days on which the different conversations occurred, but that he and witnesses whom he can produce can vouch for the essential facts.

Burroughs admitted that his charges against Leyden rested entirely on the testimony of the two servants, but maintained that they were among the most intelligent and respectable servants in the country, who had lived with him for many years, and whose veracity he knew and could confide in. Leyden observes, "It is certainly to be greatly regretted that I had no means of being apprized of the character of the servants of Sir W. Burroughs previous to their bringing me a message from that gentleman. But I am still more

unfortunate in having at present, notwithstanding his high authority, the strongest positive reason for questioning their veracity."

The first charge brought by Burroughs was that of "disrespect and insult to his person and office, in refusing to receive a verbal message from his servants in my public capacity of Magistrate". Leyden, after remarking that he did receive the message in so far as to order the complaint to be submitted in the proper way, adds, "I refused to receive it because I could not trust it, and was afraid to commit either myself or Sir W. Burroughs."

It was his strict principle, confirmed by his experience in his magistracy, not to accept any oral message. He had "the fullest and strongest conviction of the danger of entrusting verbal messages in any instance to native servants . . . . . A servant is much more likely to convey his own meaning" (based on wilful misconstruction or mere misunderstanding) "than that of his master," and "the most pernicious misapprehensions" may ensue. "The massacre of Cheyt Sing, which is understood to have originated entirely in this cause, and a variety of fatal duels are undeniable evidences of its dangerous tendency. It has to the best of my knowledge been entirely abandoned by the gentlemen of the army, and, I had imagined, by every person who has a due sense of propriety in his mind. I am now of course compelled to admit that I have been premature in this idea ; but nevertheless I feel that it will be no easy matter to reconcile my mind to its propriety, with the present striking instance of its dangerous misapplication before me, which, if any doubts had remained with me on the subject, would of itself have been sufficient to remove them altogether."

The message brought to him he had regarded as particularly suspicious. "I certainly did conceive that Sir W. Burroughs might have sent his servant to see that the person aggrieved had an opportunity of stating his complaint . . . . . but I must assert that I certainly did conceive that either no message had been sent at all, or a very different one from that which I received, and that for this plain reason, that I could conceive no object, drift, or propriety in such a message being sent to me by one of His Majesty's Judges. Now that I actually know that such a message has been sent to me, it is with much regret that I am necessitated to confess that I am almost as much at a loss as ever, to conceive its objects."

Burroughs observed that Leyden "ought to know that the object of letters is always mistaken by the natives, who from ignorance of their contents, as well as long established habits, consider them either in the light of orders, or, what is still worse, in the light of requests, which are to influence rather than attain the ends of justice." Having previously said, "I shall not stop . . . . . to ask if any body is ignorant that a message from a superior, however gentle in the terms, is always considered as a command," Leyden subsequently forgets this self-denying resolution, and goes into the matter thoroughly. "There was, indeed, one very obvious evil which appeared to me necessarily concomitant on the public delivery of such a message, especially a message delivered by the Chobdar with all the consequence and all the insignia of his office, and that is, that in whatever terms it was couched,

it must inevitably have been regarded as a command, or at least as a recommendation of one side of a question to partial influence. Indeed I regard the very name of Sir W. Burroughs as tending directly to this effect when mentioned in the Cutcherry, and I should not have been in the least surprized if the other party, right or wrong, had immediately fled beyond the Zillah . . . . . Now as it is most unquestionably the first duty of a Magistrate to preserve the most rigid impartiality in all his examinations and proceedings, without intending to convey, and as I most firmly believe without conveying an impression of disrespect to Sir W. Burrroughs, I refused to suffer his name to be employed, as I suspected, for an improper purpose. I stated that I should consider nothing but the merits of the case, and for this I was sanguine enough to hope for the approbation of Sir W. Burroughs himself."

His final answer to this charge is that a Judge of the Supreme Court, holding his office from the Crown, had no authority over the Magistrate of a Faujdari Adalat, a servant of the Company. "I am extremely at a loss to conceive how I have contrived to insult the authority and station of a Judge in the Foujdarry Adawlut Cutcherry of Zillah 24-Pergunnahs, where his authority and office could only appear in an extra-judicial capacity. Sir W. Burroughs must be perfectly aware that the communications of an individual member of the Supreme Board of Justice with the Magistrate of a Zillah must necessarily be of an extra-judicial nature. Besides, the nature of the communication alluded to is purely of an extra-judicial kind ; for what else are we to reckon the request of a Judge of the Supreme Court to the Magistrate of a Zillah that he would hear the complaint of the said Judge's cook and detain him as short a time as possible? . . . . It appears to me that Sir W. Burroughs might as well have complained of my insulting his rank and dignity in a ball-room, or at a public assembly. . . . . .

"Perhaps it may be alleged that I ought to have respected the insignia of office in the Chobdar of Sir W. Burroughs ; but it will not, I fancy, be pretended that his judicial dignity and authority resides in his *chôb*, or that this could be of the least consequence on an extra-judicial occasion, when this *chôb* must have necessarily been in the same predicament as any other *chôb*. Nay, even though this immense silver *chôb* of Sir W. Burroughs had been surmounted by his immense wig, I do not imagine that it could have claimed any peculiar reverence from me, when it appeared in the Cutcherry on an extra-judicial occasion, any more than the Austrian Governor's cap mounted on a pole had any just claim to the reverence of William Tell and his Switzers."

The second charge was that Leyden had shown Burroughs "personal insolence in attempting to extort from him a letter instead of a verbal message, and that to the degradation of his office and authority". The distinction between this charge and the first is not clear. The demand for a written message is equivalent to the refusal of an oral one, and in the first charge Burroughs complains, as in this, of insult to his office, not merely to his person. We have only Leyden's authority for the heads under which he was accused, and he says that he gives them as far as he can understand them.

According to him, Burroughs's complaint was that Leyden in trying to extort a letter from him was seeking to subject Burroughs to degradation and to gratify his own vanity. Leyden says that he is unable to perceive either the degradation or the gratification involved.

The third and last charge was that Leyden had positively refused to do his duty as a Magistrate. In reply to this, Leyden repeats what he said before about the party having the complaint written in Bengali and attending to swear to it, but adds, "Had I conceived the case to be one of *burglary* instead of *assault*, (17a) as stated by Sir W. Burroughs, instead of having his complaint written down and sworn to, I should have had his deposition taken down *viva voce*, but this misstatement was the fault of Sir W. Burroughs's servant . . . . Whatever mistake, therefore, may have occurred relative to this topic, Sir W. Burroughs must look to those trusty servants whom he consulted in preference to the Magistrate, for with him he had no direct communication."

The last part of Leyden's defence makes an interesting allusion to current opinions on the administration of the police. Burroughs had said in his report, "Almost wholly unacquainted as I am with Dr. Leyden, it is impossible for me to ascribe his conduct to any other motive than a spirit of discontent which, I am sorry to say, I have experienced from some persons in the same department, at the endeavours which, in consequence of numerous complaints regularly made to me, I have thought it my indispensible duty to exert for the purpose of putting an end to a most grievous system of oppression and exaction practised on the lower orders of the people in and about Calcutta by the inferior officers of the police."

Leyden scornfully rebuts the insinuation as admittedly unproved and incapable of proof, but instead of leaving the matter there, as he might have done, proceeds to remarks which show that Burroughs was at least right in presuming that their views on the subject were opposed. "To remove every possible exaction and oppression is a thing to be desired rather than hoped, but it is an object of most uncommon difficulty, and those who concur most perfectly in the end may differ extremely in the means, and in such a case I could not admire the liberality which would identify difference of opinion with an inclination to support a veteran system of oppression and abuse . . . . . From what I have seen in the charges preferred against myself I think it extremely probable that I should differ very materially from Sir W. Burroughs concerning the means, while I most fully concurred in the end."

The administration of the police, as recognized by Cornwallis, was coming in for a good deal of discussion by 1808. (18) The Indian personnel were underpaid and, according to Minto, generally corrupt and in league with the dacoits who terrorized the neighbourhood of Calcutta. (19) It may well

(17a) Charges of assault could be judged by the Magistrate himself, whereas those of burglary had to go before the Court of Circuit of the Division (Reg. IX of 1793, § 8). This may be the point of the distinction.

(18) Fifth Report of Special Committee, 1812, pp. 70 ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 457).

(19) Letter of 1809, quoted in *Lord Minto in India*, 1880, pp. 186 ff.

be that Burroughs had some serious plan of reform in view ; Leyden, on his side, had lately been writing "disquisitions on that intricate subject, the police of Calcutta and the 24-Pergunnahs," (20) in which he was no doubt quite unrestrained in his remarks and criticisms.

He ends his defence with a lofty peroration and a Parthian shot. "I hereby declare that I mean to shrink from no investigation of my conduct. I ask for justice and no mercy, confident that, however imperfectly I may be found to have executed the laborious duties entrusted to my charge" (this diffidence cannot be genuine), "I shall nevertheless be found to have executed them myself, with my eyes open, without confiding in natives of any description, however well known, intelligent, or respectable."

Whatever the exact truth may have been—Burroughs may have exceeded his powers, his servants may have gone beyond their commission, and Leyden may have sent the latter packing in a manner less respectful to their master than he owns, and he may even be hedging over the matter of burglary and assault—"the matter terminated, after a full and candid examination of the facts, in the amplest . . . . . . approbation of Leyden's calm and manly spirit." (21) Leyden was loud in his triumph. He sent, or promised to send, copies of his defence to the Raffleses in Penang, (22) to his old friends in Madras, (23) and to Richard Heber and Walter Scott at home, (24) that all might unite in rejoicing. "These charges," he wrote to Heber, "I found no difficulty in repelling very triumphantly to the great mortification of Sir W. who has been eating his heart ever since as the Orientalists say."

Certainly this "fine fracas", as he called it (the only occasion on which his conduct was arraigned in India), (25) did not injure his career. A few months later, in November, 1808, he was made third Commissioner of the Court of Requests, (26) but before taking up his duties was sent to Nadia as one of the men specially picked by Minto in his campaign against dacoity, (27) and he continued to hold responsible and well-paid posts until his death in Java on the expedition of 1811.(28)

MARRYAT R. DOBIE,
Keeper of Manuscripts,
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

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(20) Letter to Mrs. Raffles, 10th May, 1808.

(21) Erskine, paper quoted.

(22) The copy here used was "transcribed from the original sent by Dr. Leyden to Mrs. Raffles".

(23) John Binny, Leyden's agent, says that he and Colin Mackenzie, formerly Leyden's chief on the Mysore Survey, are looking forward to receiving it : letter of 9th March, 1810 (M.).

(24) Letter to Heber (the book-collector, Reginald's brother), 18th December, 1809. This and many other papers of Leyden were lost when the Company's ship *Streatham*, in which he sent them home, was captured by the French on 30th May, 1809 (see *Calcutta Gazette*, 7th July, 1809).

(25) Erskine, paper quoted.

(26) *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, etc.

(27) Letters to parents, 20th January, 1809 (M.), and to Erskine, 15th May, 1809 (EBCA); *Lord Minto in India*, p. 189.

(28) He died of fever on the 28th August : letter of Raffles, 7th September, 1811 (M.).

Unpublished Letters of Lord Clive

CORRESPONDENCE WITH ADMIRAL POCOCK.

BY the courtesy of Mr. Francis Edwards of 83, Marylebone High Street London, W. I., we are enabled to publish a transcript of twelve letters of Lord Clive, which he has lately acquired. These appear to have escaped the notice of Clive's biographers. Neither Sir George Forrest nor Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-1757* make mention of them, although the first (which is dated September 23, 1757) is an outspoken despatch from the Council at Fort William to the Court of Directors.

The dates of the letters range, as already indicated, from September 1757 to August 1758. Six are autograph letters and five are signed only. The twelfth is a translation of a letter from the Nawab. From internal evidence, they appear to form part of correspondence with Admiral George Pocock (1706-1792) who succeeded to the command of the fleet in the East Indies on the death of Admiral Charles Watson on August 15, 1757. "French Gardens" from which some of the letters are addressed, lay at the northern extremity of the country house at Ghiretty of the governors of Chandernagore. The place was thus described by the Dutch admiral Stavorinus in 1769-1770:

> "About half way between Chandernagore and Serampore is a place called Garetti House, on the same side as Chandernagore. Here the French Governor has built a noble house or rather a palace and has laid out an extensive and pleasant garden. And in this neighbourhood the English have a military fort where often one thousand men and sometimes more are collected."

De Grandpré (1789-1790) calls it the finest building in India and expatiates enthusiastically upon its beauties. A few crumbling ruins in the midst of dense jungle mark the site today of a mansion which used to be compared with the Château at Versailles.

In other respects the letters may be left to speak for themselves. It must be borne in mind that Chandernagore had been captured on March 13, 1757, and that the battle of Plassey had been fought and won in June of the same year.

E. C.



I

Gentlemen,

Your addressing us in a stile so very severe and unbecoming your own Characters and so much below our Station as a Govr. and Council looks like triumphing over us in our misfortunes and putttng us in mind of our unhappy situation at Fulta ; the miseries we suffer'd there will always bring to our remembrance what we owe to the Navy and Army. Indeed you have taken care our obligations shall not remain in oblivion by reminding us of them Yourselves. But why should we suffer in your opinion for representing to you fully what we think our duty to the Company obliges us to do.

We shall not follow the example you have set us in retorting in a manner which might prejudice the Company's Affairs in India ; Indeed by the late advices received from Europe. They depend so much upon your assistance that we are in a manner left at your mercy. Under these Circumstances we must leave it to you Gentlemen to settle what deduction ought to be allow'd for resque and interest. And content ourselves with representing to the Company that we think the deduction of a fifth part a very reasonable one considering the unsettled State of the Provinces, the danger of being dispossess'd by the French and the possibility of a Revolution brought about by Country Powers. In all which cases the Company would probably suffer the loss of the Principal—Besides which there is a probability of receiving part in Jewels and bad money.

We are sorry that part of the Nabob's Letter relating to the Re-payment of the money if advanced by the Company has been improperly translated or misunderstood—Colonel Clive assures us he explained this matter to Admiral Pocock. Indeed the thing tells itself, for if the Nabob promises repay either Diamonds or ready money without delay where is the necessity of applying to us? The translate of the same Letter by Colonel Clive's Interpreter and given out in his Orders/for which we have desired him to send you a copy of/will explain this matter clearly to you.

We cannot close this Letter without taking some notice of the unhandsome observation you have been pleased to make of our regarding our private interest in Negotiating the half of our own Gift from the Nabob without taking Jewels—Had we been so very tenacious of our own interest as you have represented us to be we should not have permitted the deduction of 5 per cent re Roydoolub to be made, which was taken upon our money equally with the Company's and Sufferers of Calcutta—The Navy and Army have been excused this Commission, by which they will benefit infinitely more than they can lose by the sale of their proportion of Jewels—How you came to be interested in the article of Jewels, Admiral Watson was long ago inform'd

of ; Juggutseat/to whose decision it was left/having stipulated that the payment of the first half should be made two thirds in Money and one third in Jewels, Gold, Cloth, etc. We are

Gentlemen,

Your most obed. Humble Servts.
ROGER DRAKE, JUNR.
ROBERT CLIVE
JAMES KILLPATRICK
RICHD BECHER
W. FRANKLAND
M. COLLET
W. MACKETT
P. AMYATT
T. BODDAM.

Fort Willam
The 23rd Sept. 1757.

II

Sir,

I have just now been made accquainted with the Orders sent Capt. Grant, which Orders express that no Non commission'd Officer or Soldier are to go upon the present Expedition, and only such Officers as chuse to go Volunteers, all the Officers present / Capt. Weller excepted / have declin'd going upon the present Expedition without some part of the Detatchment, however small, that they may be entitled to command—I think all the Noncommission'd Officers and Soldiers fit for Duty in Camp are about 15.

So Sr. that without you are pleas'd to give leave to such of the Officers and men belonging to the King's Detatchment fit for Duty, the Compy are likely to receive no Benefit from their assistance at a time when they stand in the greatest Need of it—

Two days ago I had the Honor of explaining to you many Particulars relative to the critical Situation of Affairs in these Provinces, and the Letter I sent this morning to the Govr. and Committee and which I have desired may be laid before you, will make appear but too plain that all the Company's Accquisitions are in great Danger, this Sr. I am persuaded will induce you to lend them all the Assistance in your Power.

If you think proper to give leave for Such of the Officers, Noncommission'd Officers and Soldiers of the King's Detatchment fit for Duty to go upon the present Expedition, till recall'd by Orders from you, which Orders I give my Word of Honor shall be comply'd with it will be rendering the Compy an essential piece of Service—

If you chuse to have the Orders sent Capt. Grant complie'd with please to let me know as soon as possible and I will immediately order the Detachment

down to Calcutta—and do my best for the Service of the Company without their Assistance—I am with great esteem.

Sr.
Yr. most obed. hume. Serv.
ROBERT CLIVE.

French Gardens,
13th Nov. 1757.

Be pleased to send me an Answer to this as soon as possible.

III

Sir,

My Letter of Yesterday will convince you there could be no Foundation for my keeping any part of the King's Detachment without your Consent. If I had any such Intentions I should certainly have acquainted you with them, the Contents of Captain Grants Letter surprized me as much as they possibly could you, as I do not remember upon his producing your Orders, that I made any other Reply than that I would write to you upon the Subject which I did immediately.

To the best of my Remembrance Captain Latham gave me some Time ago a List of the 4 Men said to be entertain'd in the Company's Service at Cossimbazar. I shall make strict Enquiry after them upon my Arrival at that Place, and order them to be sent down. I have already given Orders for the 3 Sailors belonging to the Revenge to be search'd after that they may be return'd immediately.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
ROBERT CLIVE.

French Gardens,
14th Nov. 1757.

IV

Sir,

I return you many Thanks for your last Favour, the Regard you have shewn for the Welfare of the Company's Affairs must allways merit their Acknowledgements.

Notwithstanding your Offer of putting the King's Detachment under my Command on this Expedition, I am sorry to inform you I cannot accept it without prejudicing the Service, for all the Officers / Captains Weller and Coote excepted/have expressed by Letter a Disinclination to go upon it, under these Circumstances I think it is better for the Company to be serv'd by those who are willing and may be attach'd to their Service, than by those who seem to

have lost all Remembrance of what they owe to them, for my own part Sir though I have before represented to you the many Disadvantages I must labour under during the present Expedition I shall endeavour to surmount them, and be ready to render the Company all the Services which every Well-wisher to his Country is bound to do.

The King's Detachment were order'd into Garrison Yesterday and are there waiting your Orders which suppose Captain Grant will acquaint you with.

Before I received your Favour about the Men deserted from Captain James the Company's Troops were march'd, but I will order a strict Search to be made, that they may be returned, the 20 Men I sent Yesterday have received the Company's Bounty Money of 10 Pagodas each.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
ROBERT CLIVE.

French Gardens,
16 Nov. 1757.
To Geo. Pocok Esq., etc.

V

Sir,

Nothing material has happen'd on our Journey to this Place, the Necessity of the Nabob's Affairs has oblig'd him to proceed to Rajahmaul and I have received repeated Letters to follow him with all Expedition, he Rebels of Purneo are about 15000 strongly entrenched and well situated. I know not whether Danger always encreases upon a nearer Approach, but the Purshnea [*Sic*] Affairs appear to me of much more Consequence than those of Patna.

The Nabob has occasion'd all these Disturbances by his ill Conduct and I believe it is in the power of the English only to remedy them they never were more courted and respected than by the two contending Parties at present ; I mean the Nabob and his Ministers : If we are fortunate enough to reconcile those who ought to be Friends, there is the fairest Prospect that all the other Troubles of the Country may soon be appeas'd this I hope to effect on my Arrival at Rajahmaul ; Juggatseat and Roydulub are to accompany me there.

Our Forces are encamp'd about 4 coss to the Northward of the City, we shall pursue our March Tomorrow Morning and hope to join the Nabob in 5 Days ; of the Military who march'd from Chandernagore and Calcutta 100 are fallen sick ; our whole force does not exceed 400 effective Europeans and about 2500 Seapoys.

I have the Honor to be Sir,
Your most obedt. Servant
ROBERT CLIVE.

Muxadavad,
27th Nov. 1757.
George Pocock Esq., etc.

VI

Sirs,

The Purnean Rebellion is at an End, our Approach and Coddum Hossein Cawn's March dispers'd them entirely and he is now in Possession of the City. Angelsing the principal Rebel is taken.

The Nabob proposes marching for Patna in 3 or 4 Days and we shall lead the Van. No News from the North of any Consequence.

I have the Honor to be Sir,
Your most obedt. Servant
ROBERT CLIVE.

Camp near
Rajamaul
9th December 1757.

George Pocock, Esq., etc.

VII

Dear Sir

I return you many thanks for your Letter of the 9th as well as for the News it contain'd. None of my Letters either publick or private from the Coast are come to hand, which gives me great uneasiness for fear they should have miscarried, which will leave me at a great uncertainty how to act for want of Advices.

I am much concern'd at the Sickness and slow Recovery of the Seamen and much more so that you should think I connive at the enlisting any of his Majesty's Seamen, it is very possible there may be many in Camp without my knowing anything of the Matter. I am almost certain some were entertain'd at Charnagore if there be any they must have been received at Calcutta and in all probability must have received the enlisting money of 10 Day! I shall immediately order a strict enquiry to be made after them. You are very sensible Sr. many of our Military were receiv'd on board the Squadron without either you or Mr. Watson's knowledge or even the knowledge of the Captains the like may very easily happen on shore—

Everything in Camp goes on with great Harmony and Smoothness and there is the greatest Prospect that this Country will be in Peace all the next year. The Troubles at Delhi are so great and likely to continue that neither the Morattoes or Sujah Dowlet can think of marching this way, the Pernean Rebellion I wrote you before was at an end, and Ramnarrain the Nabob is coming down to pay his Obedience to the Nabob, so that I imagine there will be no Occasion to go farther than Chickeragully a pass about 40 miles from hence—I imagine it will take up about 6 weeks to settle our own Affairs with the Nabob, before we can return to Calcutta.

I shall take another Opportunity of wishing you a good Voyage and am in the meantime.

Dear Sr.
Yr. most Obligd. hume. Serv.
ROBERT CLIVE.

Camp near Rajamaul,
19th December, 1757.

VIII

Sir,

I am to return you thanks for your Favor of the 15th the Affairs of Patna are already settled and I realy do not see the Necessity of going that Length as the Troubles in and about Delhi are so great that nothing from forreign enemies is to be apprehended for this year to come. The Nabob seems determin'd to make a March of Parade that way which I think can answer no Purpose but that of throwing away 40 or 50 Lacks of Rupees & rendring his Complyance with the rest of the Treaty the more difficult.

The Nabob and his Minister have not seen one another for these 2 or 3 Months. The latter is greatly apprehensive of being cut off, all our Business is at a Stand for want of him. I have with great difficulty prevail'd upon him to come the length of our Camp and hope to Morrow to make his Peace with the Nabob.

The Perwanna for the Granted Lands is already sent down and we are promis'd that we shall receive in 15 or 20 days 25½ Lacks in ready money and from the Renten of the Lands, if we can get this and Security upon the Lands for the Payment of the rest of the Treaty, I think it will be the Compy's own Fault if they do not receive every farthing which is due.

Either Letters or any other Commands which I can execute for you with the Nabob will afford me a real Pleasure.

I sincerely wish you a safe Passage to the Coast, a speedy Junction with Commodore Steevens and Success over all our enemies being with great esteem.

Dear Sr.

Yr. most obed. hume. Serv.
ROBERT CLIVE.

Camp near Rajamaul,
23d. Decr. 1757.

IX

Sir,

I have received your Favor of the 21st enclosing a Letter for the Nabob which has been put into Persians and sent this Morning. The Instant the Answer comes it shall be sent you.

Enclosed is the List of every Man that could be accounted for in Camp belonging to the Squadron, of which 5 were sent to Calcutta under an Eschort of 12 Sepoys ; 1 escapd from the Quarter Guard, 4 either absconded or deserted as soon as the Enquiry was made after them, and 2 William Gunner and John Mullet were Deserters from us. It is possible there may be others at Sydabad I have ordered Enquiry to be made.

It is to little Purpose that we risque our Lives in making Prisoners the Companys Enemies, if their Servants by Negligence let them escape again,

before I left Chandernagore I wrote repeatedly to Mr. Drake to have all the French prisoners laid in Irons, and left it as my last Injunctions with Captain Gaupp to desire the Governor would let him see the Contents of my Letter comply'd with ; I think the Officer who has been in Fault should be tried at a General Court Martial for his Neglect.

Wishing you all Manner of Success I am with much Esteem.

Sir,

Your most obedt. humle. Servant
ROBERT CLIVE.

Camp near
Rajahmall
29 Decr. 1757.

George Pocock Esq., etc.

X

Sir,

This serves to enclose the Nabob's Answer to your Letter this Instant received.

We this Day began our March for Patna.

I am with Esteem

Sir,

Your most obe. Servant
ROBERT CLIVE.

Rajahmall
2 Jany. 1758.

XI

From the Nabob to Colonel Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Army.

I regard you as my son, you have strongly represented so to me the absolute necessity of fully discharging the Twenty Five Lack of Rupees to be paid the Sea and Land Forces. It gives me great concern that I have it not in my power to comply with your Demands after having received so many Favors from you and being under such obligations to you, or to give that satisfaction to Gentlemen of your high characters. When the Treaty was made and the Articles relating to the Donations agreed on, I then told Mr. Watts I was unacquainted with the amount of Treasure that might be in the Treasury. What is not in my Power to do, cannot be expected from me, so it is no fault of mine. I must therefore Esteem it as a Misfortune unavoidable, and am of Opinion on such an occasion you Gentlemen will not think it at all Eligible I shou'd be distressed. My Engagements I still firmly adhere to, and will perform to the utmost of my Power. You and Mr. Watts are well satisfied there was not in the Treasury Effects sufficient to discharge in full the Payments agreed on within the Time prefixed. Of this your Friends and mine Juggatseat and Maraja Seroope Chund are sufficient Testimonies also.

It was agreed that the one half should be discharged in full, of which I have paid two large Parts in ready cash and one small part in Goods and I really am not able to pay the Remainder at present, as my Own Army are in Arrears, the chout to be paid to the Moorattas, and a present to the King with the Pishcash must be sent without Delay. However by Gods Blessing I hope the first years Payment shall be made, one half in the Month of October and the Remainder in the Month of March following, further I cannot offer as it is not in my Power. But provided you and your people are Content to take Jewels, etc. in payment I can then comply: or as in the Company's Treasury you have much Treasure, if you could from thence advance what may be due to the sea and Land Forces, I will by the Help of God punctually repay the same conformable to the agreement I have made. I hope your great Men will therefore be satisfied with these proposals, and create no disputes. Please to inform them of the purpose of this Letter ; I flatter myself they will be quite satisfied of my Good Intentions.

XII

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for former Favours and your last of the 22nd June, I hope I shall often have the pleasure of hearing from you and you may depend upon being constantly accquainted with all Occurrences in these Parts.

There is no doubt but the long expected Succours will be arriv'd before you can receive this, the Hardwick Capt. Samson who left England the 17th Decr. touch'd at Trincomalay the 6th June and was there inform'd of the Arrival of a French Squadron, the Siege of St. Davids and of the Defeat of our Squadron this last piece of false Intelligence frightened him away to this Place where he arriv'd the 21st June ; altho Capt. Samson was faulty in giving implicit Credit to every thing the Dutch told him and not addressing the Governor and Council by Letter yet he left sufficient Intelligence behind him to have given you an Insight of what was coming out, if the Govr. of Trincomalay or Negapatam had not conceald the news out of their great Friendship for the English Nation, for I do not find by the last Advices you had received any Account of the Hardwick's touching at Trincomalay—

The Hardwick brot. out the most uncommon Form of Government for Bengal, I believe that ever was heard of the Powers were lodg'd in four and each was to enjoy the Authority of Govr. by Rotation of four Months, the whole Council seeing the absurdity of such a System unanimously address'd themselves in a Letter to me to accept of the Presidency on the former footing till such time as the Gentlemen at home were become wiser by pursuing wiser Measures, altho I have very little reason to be satisfied with the Treatment of the Court of Directors who had appointed me the 1st in the Committee for the Management of their Affairs here in their Letter of Augt. and afterwards made another Nomination and altho I have every Inducement in Life to wish

myself in England, yet after the request made me by the Gentlemen here I could not answer leaving this Country in that dangerous Situation which the System of Government late pitch'd upon at home had expos'd them to, I do assure you Sr. it is much against my own private Inclinations that I stay in this unhealthy Climate and shall be much rejoic'd when the time comes for my leaving it by a final appointment of some other person—

You may be assur'd Sr. I felt much for you when I heard of the unequal fight between the two Squadrons for want of your being better supported by two or three of his Majesty's Ships, the unthinking World, who never bestow Applause but where there is Success, would have been ready enough to have laid the Censure at your Doors if you had not call'd the Authors of the late Miscarriage to a publick Account, it is really a cruel case after the eminent example of Bravery and Conduct shewn by you in Person a certain Victory should be snatch'd out of your hands by the misbehaviour of others, may Infamy and Disgrace attend all those who are backwards in their Country's Cause, and may the worst of Punishments attend those who so shamefully gave up St. Davids to the French, I cannot think of that Transaction with common Patience, every Reflection about it wounds me to the very Soul and the more I enquire into facts the more reason I have to lament the departed Reputation of the English on the Coast of Choromandell, I do not mean that St. David would not have been taken at last, but it certainly might have been made to cost Mr. Lally so dear, as to have render'd his future Enterprizes much more uncertain and precarious.

I will confess to you very frankly Sr. I was under much uneasiness at your laying so long in Madrass Road and till I heard of your Resolution of returning to the South was greatly apprehensive of the Consequences, if the Gentlemen of Madrass thought their safety depended upon the Squadron staying there, in my humble Opinion they were much mistaken for if the expected Reinforcement had been intercepted and the French receiv'd a Third Division it would have been out of your Power Sr. to have cop'd with such unequal Numbers or to have given Madrass any Assistance, which must have fallen in time for want of relief notwithstanding the most obstinate Resistance.

I hope long before this that by the Arrival of two or three of his Majesty's Ships, the Superiority at Sea will be greatly on our Side, and if by any means the ships lying in Pondicherry Road, can either be taken burnt or drove ashore there will be an end to the French Naval Force in India and you and Mr. Watson may possibly be the only two Admirals who have adorn'd our English Annals during the course of this unfortunate War—

Our last letters from hence in March and April gave an Account that everything was likely to be settled in Peace and I have now the Pleasure to accquaint you that no Expedition could have answer'd the Subahi and Company's purposes better than the last, the Nabob returned to Muxadavad in the Month of May, with the agreable Reflection of not having an enemy able to make Head against him in the Kingdom of Bengal, the Mogul has approv'd of his Promotion and has wrote to him, his Sunnad is upon the Road,

and my Titles, etc. are arrived with a gracious Letter from the Vizier, the public and private have received 1/3 of the other half, which with the Ballance due of the 1 half amounts to near 50 Lacks, for the remaining 82 Lacks the Countries of Berduwan, Nuddea and Hughly are mortgaged to us, the money will be paid into the Treasury Monthly at Calcutta, the Payment of which by no means depends upon the Nabob so that nothing less than a Grand Revolution effected by our Inveterate enemies the French can put our present great Possessions in Danger. I must confess to you Sr. without they obtain the Superiority by Sea and can attack us by the Water and Land at the same time, I see not the least probability of their succeeding, neither do I think them rash enough to make any attempt upon these parts without the foregoing advantages—

You have heard no doubt of the Discontent of the Rajahs in Bussy's Territories and that they have disspossessd the French of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Chicacul, the Rajah Vizaramikauze has wrote me all these particulars himself and that Bussy is in Distress at Court. I have sent two trusty agents into those Parts and if upon their Return affairs appear to me in the same Light as at present I am determind to send Col. Ford, with between 3 and 400 Europeans, 2000 Seapoys and a Train of Artillery, to take Advantage of our Enemys—Distresses one of our Chief Designs must be to cut off all Supplies of Money, and if we spend a Lack in making the French spend half the Sum, it will answer our Purpose—Our effective Force does not exceed 700 Europeans, the half of that Number would not give the Ballance on one Side or other on the Coast, it is not 3 or 300 Men that will either gain or lose a Battle. Conduct and Resolution will always make up for such odds.

By a Letter from Cossimburzar the Dutch Second Mr. De Wilde, has received a Letter overland Via Surat, from Messrs. John T. Herman Barns Merchants in London dated 9th Feby. 1758 containing the following particulars —viz. a Cessation of Arms between France and Prussia, the Russians recall'd their Queen being Dead and the Turks on their March to invade that Kingdom, great hopes of a General Cessation and a Peace, our Fleet for India left England in Jany. The Courts of Vienna and France Jealous of one another. Disputes running high between them.

I think you may depend upon the Authenticity of this News because several of our Gentlemen have seen this Letter tho I think it strange no other Advices came by the same Conveyance.

The Nabob is on his March to pay us a Visit at Calcutta, great Preparations are making for his Reception I hope to give you an Account of his arrival before these Dispatches are closed.

The Committee have address'd you about a Dock and of the Expediency of your coming here. I need not tell you what pleasure your Company would afford me and how rejoic'd I should be at shewing you every Mark of Esteem in my Power, my private Letters mention your being recall'd I hope

on the Company's Account there is no Truth in this News. You have my daily wishes for your success in all your undertakings being with the greatest sincerity and Regard.

Dear Sr.
Yr. most Obed. hume. Serv.
ROBERT CLIVE.

Calcutta
14th Augt. 1758.

P.S. The Nabob after having been with us 7 or 8 days return'd yesterday seemingly highly pleas'd with his Reception. R.C.

26th Augt.

Lewis Anthony Yvon.

THE names of the various adventurers which have been given as Evans, Evan, Yvon and the like, have in the past given rise to considerable confusion. We were recently able, through the re-discovery of his grave, to establish the identity of Joseph Even (1749-1805), sometime commander-in-chief of the Begam Sombre's Forces (see *B. P. & P.* Vol. L, pages 119-120). It seems that he must be the same as the "Captain Evans" who received a British pension of Rs. 400 a month in 1803. The *Asiatic Annual Register*, volume VIII, part I, page 187 announces the death "In camp, near Jhansi, 3rd October 1805", of Major I. [? J] H. Evans, "formerly in the service of Ambajee Inglia". It seems likely that this is the same person as Joseph Even, despite the slight discrepancies as to initials, and date of death. Jhansi is not after all so very far from Mirzapur.

We are now able to give a fairly complete account of Lewis Anthony Yvon, (1) *alias* Evans, owing to new material which has just been published in volume II of *Poona Residency Correspondence*, which forms part of the admirable new series entitled "English Records of Maratha History", published by the Government of Bombay. This volume is *Poona Affairs 1786-1797 (Malet's Embassy)*, edited by Mr. G. R. Sardesai, published in 1936 at Re. 7-12-0 or 13s. 6d. net.

Amongst its contents are several letters from Yvon to (Sir) C. W. Malet, the East India Company's representative at the Peshwa's Court. The first of the series is a letter (page 84) from the "Maratha Camp near Kopal, 30th December 1786", from "Mr. Yvon, a British deserter employed as a news-writer", reporting to Malet various matters of military interest. There is however a previous allusion to Yvon's reports in a report (page 81) transmitted by Malet to the Governor-General on 18th December 1786.

On 14th January 1787 Yvon writes from the Maratha Camp a long and (perhaps intentionally) involved account (page 89) in reply to a request of Malet's to be "properly informed how I came in the black services and also the manner I left the English". Before we proceed to examine this, it is desirable first to consider the little that was previously on record about Yvon or Evans: this was included, in part, in Herbert Compton's pages, but the *locus classicus* was Major Edward Moor's *Narrative of the Military operations on the Coromandel Coast against the combined forces of the French, Dutch and Hyder Ally Cawn from 1780 to 1784, (London, 1789).*

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(1) Yvon appears to be an uncommon name, at least in England. There was a Lieut. Thomas Yvon of the 1st Ceylon Regiment, who died at Colombo, 9th November, 1814.

Evans was first heard of at Vellore, where he was quartermaster of a troop of cavalry on the Madras Establishment. "At that time", writes Moor, "which must be twelve or more years before his death [he died in 1791, as we shall see], he had with him an European woman, supposed to be his wife, who being expert in the art of making pastry, as Evans was at fencing, they lived very comfortably on the profits of their several employments. At length, in consequence of a dispute with his superior, Evans and wife left Vellore clandestinely, and were never more heard of by his corps till the time of which we are now speaking". For several years his movements were obscure, but he eventually entered the service of the Peshwa, cloaking his identity under the name of Yvon. Entering a *campoo*, he soon rose to command it ; and on the outbreak of hostilities in 1790 took part in the siege of Dharwar as an ally of the British. There, on 6th February 1791, he was killed in action whilst leading his men to the assault and displaying great gallantry.

He had been wounded many times before, and had a great reputation for bravery. On the death of his first wife he had married an Indian Christian, who at the time of her husband's death was living at Belgaum, some 12 miles away from Dharwar. To the vacant command of Yvon's corps there was appointed another English deserter named Robinson (Compton, page 368). Mrs Evans was aggrieved, and left for Dharwar where she imprisoned Robinson and assumed the command of her husband's regiment. Her action was probably due to the fact that at the time of Evan's death he had a claim against the Peshwa for about forty thousand rupees, and she determined to hold the regiment in pledge against the debt.

Yvon's letter to Malet gives the following account of his career. In 1772 he was serjeant in the 12th Battalion of Sepoys at Madura, under the name of Yvon (pronounced Evon). His uncle, in England, who appears to have been a Major Valentine Fuze (2) of H.M. 40th Foot, had long before written to Colonel Bonjour, commanding at Ramnadpuram, making inquiries about his nephew ; but as the name was given as Evans these were at first fruitless. Later, however, Bonjour mentioned the matter at a supper at which "Lieut. Gordon of P. Battalion" was present, and on describing the missing man "Lieut. Gordon immediately answered that there was such a person in his battalion". "I was soon sent for from Madura ; but by my own fault I was not provided for. After a few months past at my own request at the 2nd siege of Tanjor Colonel Bonjour got me removed in [to] the Nabob's 1st Regiment of Cavalry commanded by Lieut. Dugald Campbell with recommendations to that gentleman. In the year 1774 I went with Lieut. Dugald Campbell to Madras when at the same time I received a letter from England with orders from my mother to rectify the error in my name and that as Major Valentine Fuzer was ordered to Philadelphia since the year 1770 . . . . . . she had got me appointed on the list of cadets for the year 1774 and if I should rather choose to return to Europe, [the matter] was at my choice".

(2) Qy. Frazer.

Yvon continues that on this he resolved "to go to England or some other coast", and therefore applied for his discharge from the Company's service, which was carried out accordingly on 1st October 1774, after 5 years and 4 months service. He then served on board a ship (perhaps the *Hector* Indiaman, but he cannot be sure of the name), commanded by Captain W. M. Thompson, for two months, apparently intending to proceed to England in her ; but being a vile sailor left the ship, with the Captain's permission, at Cochin. Here he remained a short time and, "not finding shipping for Bengall, went to Callicut and Syringapatam where I found Coll. Russell who favoured me very much and got me a passport from Hyder to go to Pondicherry. This is the way I travelled and came into the black service . . . . . About 4 years ago I left Adoni with an intention to go to Bombay or settle in Goa, where I went the first time in December 1783 [and] was introduced to D. Frederick Guilherme DeSouza who honoured me very much and desired me to remain in Goa and he would protect me".

Yvon goes to say that at Goa he met Mr Charles Crommelin, who persuaded him to leave Goa for Bengal with a letter of recommendation which Crommelin would give him to "Lord Hastings" (*sic*). But "misfortunes attended" Yvon, and instead he returned to Quilon to settle his affairs and collect cash which he had lent out. Again, "several misfortunes befalling me, at last [I] was reduced to come to Poona where I remained four months without service and a small company of sepoys to maintain but thanks be to the Almighty I have [now] overcome all difficulties and could I get paid from the Sircar should be once more in a prosperous way . . . . . "

As to his family, he adds that he believes his mother is dead, and that his only relative is his uncle (his mother's brother) already mentioned.

Other communications from Yvon to Malet are printed at pages 91, 95, 97 and 103 of the volume mentioned. They are chiefly news-letters, and it is evident that Malet valued his intelligence from the Maratha camp. Occasionally there is useful information regarding other adventureres: "Mr Vivier, a French Officer Commanding in Purasaram Bou's Service", died on 21 January 1787 (page 96) ; and a Mr Charles (dead before 14 January 1787) was a Lieutenant in Mahomed Ally Khan's service (page 91). There are several references to Burette, who on occasion acted as a intermediary between Yvon and Malet (see *B. P. & P.*, vol. L. page 75: article "A Prisoner of Tipu Sultan," by Sir Jadunath Sarkar).

Malet, in a letter dated 2nd April 1791, reports the death of "that valuable man" Yvon and the stopping of his allowance from the end of February. Cornwallis had in February 1787 sanctioned (page 101) the payment to him of "a small monthly allowance which we prefer to any other kind of reward for his trouble."

No proper list of epitaphs from the Dharwar district has ever been published ; and we do not know if Yvon's grave can be traced today.

H. B.

Scraps from Fort William Regimental History.

IT took a long time to make a fairly complete list of those British regiments that served in Fort William from the time it was considered fit to accommodate them.

The Adjutant General's Department at Army Head Quarters could go no farther back than 1812. The Records Department in Calcutta gave little information for and less change out of fifty rupees. Delhi proved to be not quite so successful as Calcutta.

At the India Office they knew much more but even then there were gaps that they were unable to fill. All regiments in the Army believed to have been at certain times in the Fort, were written to. Some replies were pleasant and helpful. Most inquiries were ignored. Perhaps when names of officers, lists of casualties and other details were sent a denial might come along—the present unit had not been in Bengal at the time—it must have been another one of the same number, which of course was true. The 84th, of which much information was found, claims all the 84ths that were raised and have therefore, a fine record. But there must have been many who passed through Calcutta whose names and numbers are omitted. Any information about them will be welcome, for regiments now are keen to learn anything of their past history. Moreover, there will come a time when nothing will be left of Fort William but the two churches. That will bring to an end what is left of the interest in the Fort which, for one hundred and seventy-five years has been the home of many hundred thousands of soldiers, British and Indian.

The 84th Foot was the first British Regiment to occupy Fort William. Colonel H. C. Wylly, C.B. gives many details about raising it which I take the liberty of quoting. In his *Life of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote*, K.B., he states :—

"At this time the Directors of the East India Company had become persuaded of the need for a larger leaven of European troops among their forces in Madras and Bengal ; and, owing to certain representations which they made to the Home Government, two new regiments were raised in England for service in India. The first of these, in many cases short-lived, but hard-fighting, corps was raised by Captain William Draper of the 1st Foot Guards, afterwards to become Sir William Draper, and to win a military reputation as the captor of Manilla, and a literary notoriety as the opponent of "Junius". The regiment was numbered the 79th ; it was got together mainly at Colchester, and was made up of companies drafted

from the 4th, 8th, and 24th regiments, with some sergeants from the Foot Guards. It was raised under an order dated the 2nd November 1757, and during its service in the East it lost 30 officers and over 1000 men . . ."

Madras being provided for steps were taken to obtain a regiment for Bengal. The Company addressed the following:—

General Letter from the Company to Bengal
Dated 23 January 1759.
(Extract).

4. Having found it impracticable to raise recruits for our Military or likely to do it in any degree adequate to the demands for them from our several Presidencys, and in particular for yours, where it is so very important to have a considerable land force, His Majesty has been further most graciously pleased to assist the Company with a Battallion of his troops consisting of about 1000 men, including officers, which it is our intention should be employed in Bengal, as we are in hopes our Presidency of Fort St. George will not be under a necessity of detaining any of them considering the force they must have upon the arrival of Coll. Draper's Battallion and that what recruits can be raised for the Company's forces will be sent thither by every conveyance that can be spared from other service.

5. The better to accommodate so considerable a body of men as also to find a passage for our own recruits, wee do in addition to the freighted ships employ two of the Company's vizt. the Royal George and Prince Henry Packet, and wee shall be under the necessity likewise of taking up another ship to proceed to India and be disposed of there on a plan similar to those whereon the Hardwick and Doddington in the years 1754 and 1755 were entertained.

Despatches to Bengal, Vol. I,
pp. 816-817.

On Jaunary 13 1759 King George promulgated an order to this effect.

"Whereas we have thought fit that a battalion of foot should forthwith be raised and formed under your command, which is to consist of nine companies of 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers and 100 effective private men in each company, besides commissioned officers, with the addition of 2 fifers to the Grenadier Company, AND WHEREAS we have been pleased to direct for the more speedy raising and forming the said battalion that drafts shall be made from several of our marching regiments of foot, and that the same when compleated shall embark for the East Indies to assist the forces of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in the vigorous prosecution of the war in those parts, THESE are to authorize you by beat of drum or otherwise to raise so many men in any county or part of Our Kingdom of Great Britain as shall from time to time be wanting to the said battalion compleat, AND all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables and other Civil Officers whom it may

concern are hereby required to be assisting unto you in providing quarters, impressing carriages and otherwise as there shall be occasion."

"The new regiment took rank as the 84th, and on the 19th December 1759 a tenth company was ordered to be added to it, while on the 14th January following its establishment was augmented by the addition of two more."

The 84th was most probably formed from the same units as those that supplied the nucleus of the 79th already on the way to Madras. The 24th undoubtedly supplied both officers and men, for Thomas Goddard, afterwards Brigadier General who was an ensign in the 24th at the age of thirteen and was promoted Lieutenant in the following year, with brother officers transferred to the 84th probably taking many rank and file with them.

The regiment embarked at Spithead on April 4. 1760 and sailed on the 6th on board 13 ships of which four were Men-of-War. The largest number in one ship being 136. The squadron "made Madagascar on the 9th August when it anchored in St. Augustin's Bay, and the whole of the troops and all the sick of the squadron were landed and encamped. The behaviour of the natives was at first not altogether friendly but the good-will of the ruling family seems to have been early secured by the 'Musick' of the Regiment which played before the King, and by a pair of embroidered slippers which Colonel Coote was able to persuade the Queen to accept."

While at Madagascar, Colonel Coote states in his diary that he purchased eight black men for Pioneers for the Regiment, but one of them soon after ran away.

"Part of the 84th reached Madras in September and Colonel Coote arrived on October 27 and immediately took command of the troops in the south."

Things with the English had not been going too well but the arrival of Coote put a different complexion on the military situation. The fort of Wandewash was taken on November 30. On page 36 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 is a description of the "decisive battle just mentioned was fought here between the British and French Armies, commanded by the officers de Lally and Coote when the French were defeated with a prodigious number killed, and were soon after obliged to abandon the country. The whole weight of the action fell upon the Europeans in either army ; the sepoys merely looked on. After the conflict had been decided, the native commanders highly complimented Colonel Coote upon so signal a victory, thanking him at the same time for the sight of a battle such as they had never before witnessed."

During the operations against Pondichery numbers of French troops deserted and joined Coote's forces being formed into a separate company under their own officers. "The only member of this company whose name has endured was Claude Martin, who deserted to the English during the siege of Pondichery—on the 9th May 1760—was taken into our service, served under Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam in 1792, and died as a

major-general in Lucknow in 1800, the founder of the Martiniere schools there and in Calcutta." Martin also founded another school in his native land—at Lyons.

A footnote in Colonel Wylly's book explains—"In justice to Martin it should be stated that the reason he gave Coote for deserting was that Lally insisted on his serving before he was exchanged or ransomed."

The 84th having done most to decide English supremacy in South India eventually received orders* to proceed to its original destination—Fort William.

A terrible disaster, however, overtook that portion of the regiment which sailed later from Madras in the *Fatasalam* a large country ship. The following account is to be found in the India Office among the documents connected with Colonel Coote's journals. Under date of the 9th November 1761 he writes as follows:—

'Captain Caulfield and Lieutenant Hill of my Regiment arrived at Calcutta from Cuttack ; they gave the following account of the *Fatasalam* : "The 23rd August a detachment consisting of one major, 3 captains, 14 subalterns, 3 surgeons, one volunteer, 17 sergeants, 8 drummers, and 222 rank and file of the 84th Regiment ; the French Company consisting of one commandant, 2 ensigns, 4 volunteers, 4 sergeants, and 107 rank and file of the Company's troops embarked in Madras road on board the *Fatasalam*, a large country ship, bound to Calcutta, loaded with 50 pieces of heavy cannon, 10,000 shot, and other stores for the new fort, 200 tons of salt, a quantity of wood and some other cargo. She sailed in the morning of the 26th, and the 27th at night grew very leaky, but was kept free by pumping and baling until the 28th in the morning, when she gained so considerably on them that they were obliged to throw some of the guns overboard and cut away from her bows five anchors to lighten her. About 11 o'clock the water got to the salt, which immediately working into the wells chocked the pumps in such a manner as to render them useless. There being a rolling sea, the ship's upper-works, by the extraordinary weight of her cargo and her age, opened, and the water came in now so fast that, imagining she must sink instantly. the Captain, 25 other Europeans and 14 Blacks threw themselves without provisions or water into the long boat (the only boat they had that could stand the sea) and remained hovering off the vessel until night, when they conjectured she went down, as they could not see her in the morning and had observed her at close of day quite water lodged. (*sic*).

"Being 40 leagues from land they were five days before they reached the shore, during which time the sea ran so high that they were obliged to work constantly, watch and watch, to keep her free from the water she shipped. The third day many lost their reason. Thirst seemed to contribute to it more powerfully than hunger, which they had no way to supply but by drinking their urine—The 2nd of September they at last made land, and with some difficulty got through a great surf all safe on shore in False Bay, Point Palmiras, where the inhabitants at first used

them kindly, but next day, by command of the Rajah, confined the Europeans. and after they had kept them a month in great misery. sent them up into the country. where they underwent most uncommon hardships —Major Gordon, Surgeon Brown, Captain Scott, and Ensign Oglevy are dead, and all the others left sick at different places as by the annexed list. There is only Captain Caulfield and Lieutenant Hill who had yet reached Calcutta on the 7th November.

'Lost in the vessel: belonging to the 84th Regiment :

Lieutenants Jones . .	Ensigns Ward
,, Mehew	,, Brabazon
,, Paine . .	Mr. Hart, Surgs. Mate
,, Prideaux . .	,, Waterman
,, Dewar . .	,, Sampson, Volunteer.

16 Sergeants, 8 Drummers, 218 rank and file.

The French Company lost 117 officers and men

"Belonging to the ship: 2 Mates, Europeans.
1 Mate, Portugese.
80 or 90 Lascars.

Saved from her:

Major Gordon . . .	Dead at Cuttack, 22nd October.
Captain Sherlock . . .	Left sick at Cuttack.
,, Caulfield . . .	Arrived at Calcutta.
,, Scot . . .	Dead at Mundick (?) 3rd October.
Lieutenant Tate . . .	Left at Ballasore.
His wife	Left at Ballasore.
Lieutenant Neilson . .	Left at Cuttack.
His wife	Dead at Mandrapore (?)
Lieutenant Manning . .	Left at Ballasore.
,, Mackarell . .	Left at Cuttack.
,, Hill . . .	Arrived at Calcutta, 31st October.
Ensign Oglevy . . .	Dead at Ballasore.
,, Frazer . . .	Left very ill at Ballasore.
Mr. Henry Brown, Surgeon .	Dead on the island of Izapore, 24 September.
Sergeant Cooper . . .	Left at Goape. (?)
Corporal Dalrymple . .	,, Cuttack.
Private Duncan . . .	all dead.
,, Taylor . . .	all dead.
,, Morris . . .	all dead.

Ensign Claude Martin of the French Company arrived at Calcutta.
Captain Carney of Lally's Regiment arrived at Calcutta.
La Velette, private in the French Company. Left at Goape.
A French Sergeant of Captain Carney's dead.
A French Sergeant of Captain Careny's dead.
Captain Simmons, Commander of the ship, arrived at Calcutta.
Mr. Rodly, supercargo.
In all 26 Europeans.

"Of the 14 Blacks, three, being promised a large reward, undertook to go to Calcutta to give an account of the loss of the vessel, but only one out of the three got as far as Ballasore, about 150 miles from hence, from which place he gave us the first intelligence of this melancholy affair. Eight were left sick at Goape. Three attempted to travel with the party, only one of which arrived at Cuttack, one being eat by a Tyger on the road."

Life of Sir Eyre Coote by
Colonel H. C. Wylly C. B.
pages 109-11

The remarkable feature of that tragedy is that of the 26 Europeans who left the ship, 16 were officers, and two, officers' wives. That there was panic is obvious from the fact that the Captain of the *Fatasalam* was among the first to desert his ship. This is one of several instances where one is forced to believe there was a different standard for courage and duty than that which guides our people today.

The remainder of the 84th occupied the bastions near Plassey Gate in Fort William in 1761—2 & 3. Lieutenant Colonel P. R. Innes's History of the *Bengal European Regiment,* states :—

(July 1763.) "In addition to the Bengal Europeans there were, quartered in Fort William, H. M's 84th Regiment, lately arrived, only about 400 strong, the Company's European Cavalry, and two companies of European Artillery with 10 field guns ; making a total of only 850 Europeans available for service in the field, and about 1500 Sipahis."

Colonel Eyre Coote returned home on November 14, 1762 and the remnant of his regiment, "the 84th, remained behind occupying the newly-built fort."

In 1763 the 84th proceeded to Bihar where they fought at the battle of Kutwah on July 19, under command of that splendid soldier Major Thomas Adams. Two other regiments, the 89th (Morris's Highlanders), and the 96th were part of the force. At the Battle of Buxar on October 2, 1764 the 89th had ninety-nine casualties.

On January 4, 1764 the remains of H. M. 84th Regiment arrived in Calcutta from Behar under command of Major Abercrombie.

"In October, 1763, orders had been sent to Bengal for H. M. 84th Regiment to return to England, as it was ordered that its soldiers should be paid off and discharged ; at the same time the Bengal Government were informed that both the Officers and men of this Regiment would, if they so desired, take service under the East India Company in preference to returning home. With few exceptions the remnant of the 84th Regiment, including the following officers, volunteered for the Bengal European Regiment." (5 subalterns and 6 ensigns). All these officers received a step in rank ; those previously in the service also getting promotion."

A foot-note runs, "The Officers of H. M. 84th who volunteered for service in the Bengal European Regiment were granted half-pay for life."

Less than 150 privates decided to go home, they left in small detachments in various ships which took an average of seven months to do the

journey. 6 officers and 10 privates under command of Major Sherlock left Calcutta on March 6, 1764 per H.E.I.C. ship "Boscawen. The time-table of that voyage is given below.

Log of Ship "Boscawen' (Indiaman)

Extracted from Muster Rolls contained in 25 Factory Records, St. Helena.

6th March, 1764	...	Embarked Major Sherlock and 6 officers and 10 privates of the 84th Regiment.
7th March, 1764	...	Came on board Capt. Dean.
27th June, 1764	...	Arrived at Mauritius (where lengthy repairs to ship).
25th December, 1764	...	Left Mauritius.
22nd January, 1765	...	Arrived at Cape of Good Hope.
27th February 1765	...	At St. Helena Company's official took Muster Roll of "Boscawen."
23rd May, 1765	...	Arrived off Plymouth. Disembarked Major Sherlock and the rest of the 84th Regiment.

It is possible that the 89th Highlanders and the 96th Regiment were both quartered for a short time in Fort William. The 89th must certainly have been the first Scottish Regiment in India. It landed in Bombay in 1760 and was brought to Bengal for the operations in Behar.

It is generally believed that those who came to India a hundred and more years ago suffered great hardships. Judged by modern standards they did, but it should be remembered that life in England was hard too. The English village with a cesspool in the middle of it was more dirty and insanitary than the Indian village. The tyranny of the squire and the parson, the merciless administration of justice, made home life so unpopular that the poor man was only too pleased to get out of it. Army life in India was certainly attractive. Once men settled down in the country they had no inclination to return home. The conditions of service, lacking in comfort as they may have been, were so superior to what the recruit found in his native land that regiments, ordered home found most of the private soldiers volunteering to another unit just arrived in the country. As the Indians put it, the buffalo doesn't feel the weight of his horns and the Company's soldier, with his ration of rum which made him half drunk three times a day, his Indian woman to cook for him, and occasional parades and guards found life easy to live, even if it was made easy to die. It is the present day that shows how wide is the gap between the amenities of any city in the British Isles and many cantonments in India. The lack of amusement, the boredom and being so constantly kept up to the mark makes service in India for the poor man so unattractive.

One does not hear today of sailors deserting their ships to join the army, but Captain Frederick Vincent had a whole string of names of his men who had done so. As he seems to have been aware of the various branches of the service they joined, it looks as if he received little help from the authorities.

Home Dept.

Public Extract from Public Progs. 5th December 1763 pp. 1450-51. Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

The following is a true state of my ships company since I left England. I must therefore request that such Persons as can be obtained from the following list may be immediately ordered to be delivered up as my Complement now consists of 40 Lascars and/except officers/the rest chiefly foreigners all indifferent Seamen. The Difficulty besides of becoming intelligible in the Time of Danger is of too much consequence to the Welfare of the Ship not to desire Assistance, especially in return of such as have taken sanctuary in the Army and Sloops at this Place.

50 Dead—Chiefly while on service at Bencoolen.
8 Run—at Bencoolen, Malacca and Manilha.
3 left sick at Madrass.
1 Taken—By the French in my Boat.
11 Discharged King & ca Service, Navy and Europe Ships.
10 —Run—amongs the Volunteers, Hussars, Train & Pioneers.
13 Dd—in the Sloops and Army.

96 Total.

Joseph Clark	Volunteers	Joseph Jeffrys	
Pits		Joseph Carole	
Andrew Limbeck		Thos Kirkwood	
Leonard Vanspite	Hussars	Fredk Severs	
John Lisle		Santago Torrio	
John Allen		Nicho Salto	These 13 in the Sloops and Army.
		Fran Rodrigo	
John Pussman		Anth. Montat	
Joseph Guza	Train	Alexr. Ross	
Bunnie Lowrie		Peter Gilbrea	
		John Harmay	
Closs Boley	Pioneers	James Coob	
		John Smith	

This ship is now at Ingellee agreeable to your Instruction and I propose leaving Town on Wednesday unless I receive your Commands which require my stay.

I have been obliged to leave both my Anchors with half a cable on each on which there is two Burrs, I must request your orders to the Master Attendant to weigh them and when recovered to be left amongst the Company's Marine Stores, till Mr. Raymond shall obtain Orders for their Disposal.

I am
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs
Your most obedient humble servant
Sd/- Fredk Vincent

Calcutta
5 Decr. 1763.

Soldiers had few amusements in those days but while the Fort was being built, and before water was let into the moat, the cavities were made into an arena where wild animals fought while the garrison, well out of danger watched the tamasha.

Extracts from the Private Diary of Colonel A. Champion.
(India Office, Home Miscel. No. 198.)
Dec. 18, 1765

The whole town assembled at the New Fort to see a fight between a Tyger and a Buffaloe, an Elephant and Rhinoseras and 2 Camels. A large square place with huts being made, and Buffaloes with their riders were put in, and afterwards a Tyger loose, who did not attempt to seize one of the Buffaloes. One of the Buffaloes ran at him first, after which there was little or no sport. They then set loose a very large Royal Tyger, but he, being hurt in his hind quarters, was rendered useless. However the animal behaved with a noble spirit, and did his utmost. The Buffaloe, by being led on to the beast, attacked furiously, and would lift up and gorge the Tyger, and threw him over his head with the greatest case. As there was no opposition, it afforded but little sport of pleasure, the Tyger being at last killed ; and, being late, the Company broke up. Camels were brought and fought, they seize chiefly by each other's legs but it affords no diversion. An elephant which had been prepared for a battle, ran wild and endeavoured to force the square. As great numbers of people were about, 7 were killed. When he found he could not accomplish his design he ran thro' a garden wall, and lifted the roof of a house ; and, had not his rider behaved well, he would have brought it to the ground. As the Rhinoceras could not be moved, there was no battle."

The same officer's Private Diary contains another account.

"At ten this morning notice was given by his Lordship that he intended an Elephant fight. When the whole town assembled, two large Elephants, with each a female were brought on the plain with . . . . their riders on, when they furiously met each other ; and after an established struggle, they began and made the second assert, and one of them was freely lifted from the ground and had never fallen. If once they are thrown, they are immediately killed by the other trampling on them. One soon after ran away. It's remarkable that the beast defends his rider so that he never comes to harm."

The phrase "An elephant which had been prepared for battle," has a curious interest. Many years later, a lady who witnessed an elephant fight in Lucknow said that, to make them savage, the barbers collected the wax taken out of their patrons ears, and this, when worked into large pills, made the animals full of fight. It may be that the schoolboy term for making another boy "waxy" arose from this practice. The League of Nations might institute inquiries with the object of ascertaining if war and human ears have any close relationship.

Fort William took so long to build, and little interest was shewn in its military history, that there appears to be a sort of dead period between the departure of Clive and the arrival of Warren Hastings.

When the 84th went to Behar in 1763 they were relieved by the Calcutta Militia, a unit, I believe, existing under another name up to the time of the Great War. Then there is a reference to the 103rd Regiment being in Fort William in 1764 although someone in the India Office, London, was certain that no King's troops were in Bengal between 1764 and 1780. There probably were large numbers of soldiers serving as Marines on board the ships of the Royal Navy on the coast.

This is the list for that period as nearly as could be discovered:—

1765-66	1st Bengal Europeans.
1767-68 & 69	1st Brigade, H.E.I.C's Troops
1770	3rd Bengal Europeans
1771-72	1st Bengal Europeans
1773	1st Bengal Europeons and 7 Company's of Independent Militia Sepoys.
1774 to 1778	Bengal Europeans
1779	3rd Bengal Europeans
1780	1st Bengal Europeans.

After 1780 the H. E. I. C.'s European battalions do not appear to have spent much of their time in Fort William. It was a receiving depot for their recruits who were found to lose so little time in going to the dogs after their voyage out, that they were sent to Berhampore. Very fine barracks had been built by the Company there, but the climate was more deadly for troops than the drink and debauchery of Calcutta.

In 1779 a Second Battalion of 700 men was raised for the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment and embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies in January 1781 under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Norman Macleod.

Captain Innes Munro, of the 73rd Highlanders, that left England about the same time as the 2/42nd tells us that "the mosquito welcomed the arrival of the kilt in India, and inflicted wounds of so distressful a character that the 73rd were forced to abandon the garb of Old Gaul and take to white trousers instead."

The 42nd proceeded direct to Fort William but there was evidently an intention to send them back home again as soon as possible. But after being ordered home to find an order to march over 350 miles away from a port must have caused a deal of ill-feeling—that is if soldiers of those days thought of grumbling about Administration which dignifies habitual slapdash under the cheerful excuse of "muddling through."

Home Dept.
Public — Madras 2 October, 1784.
17 January 1785
No. 46

Gentlemen,

I herewith have the honour to transmit you a Return of His Majesty's Troops embark'd for your Presidency on board the Camden Indiamen, and I am to inform you that they are all, (except the 2nd Battn. of the 42nd Regmt.) exactly on the same footing as those troops of His Majesty who have hitherto gone to Bengal.

The 2nd Battn. of the 42nd. Regmt. was ordered home so far back as the year 1782, by a letter from the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Hillsborough the then Secretary of State to the late Commander in Chief but from various causes those orders could not at that time be complied with, and as no mention is made of that Battn. in any of my Despatches from the Secretary of State, or Secretary at War, altho they were informed by the late Commander in Chief of its detention in this Country, I am doubtful whether it be still His Majesty's intention that His former Command regarding that Battn. should be carried into execution I have therefore determined to detain the 2nd Battn. of the 42nd Regiment in India, untill decisive Orders shall be received from England respecting its future Destination, and have accordingly given instructions to the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Troops in Bengal to that purport, and at the same time desired him to keep that Battalion in the same as it is at present till he shall receive my further orders upon the subject.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
Sd/- Allan Campbell, Major General,
Commanding His Majesty's Forces in India
for the time being.

The Hon'ble Governor General & Council of Bengal.

Whatever hopes the 42nd. Regmt. may have had about going home, must have been rudely shattered by the following order:—

Home Dept.
Public
12 February 1785 — To The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.
No. 7 — G. Gl & Members of the Supreme Council Pub. Dt.

Gentlemen,

As the Troops in the Garrison of Fort William particularly the Officers, are much straitened for room, must be more so when the Artillery returns from Practice, I beg leave to propose that His Majesty's 42nd Regiment under the Command of Captain Macdowal, may be ordered to march to Danapoor and stationed at that Cantonment till further orders.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Sd/- G. Stibbert.

Fort William
11th February 1785

As the men were accommodated in the various bastions of Fort William, which are large holes in the wall, and they were ordinarily expected to get into their beds at the foot, being packed too closely to get in any other way, the state of over-crowding must have been pretty bad.

In April 1786, while still in Fort William, the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment was directed to be constituted the 73rd

Highland Regiment. Subsequently the 73rd was styled the "Perthshire" Regiment reverting to its original designation of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Highlanders in July 1881.

In spite of the original order to send the regiment Home in 1782, it was still doing duty in Fort William in 1786. Before embarking, some 500 men voluntarily went to two other Scottish regiments, electing to remain in India where conditions were immeasurably superior to those prevailing in England, where there were few, if any pucka barracks, and men slept four in a bed in public house cellars or any hole where they could be accommodated. But service was for many years popular in India, as will be shewn later.

In 1783-84 the 98th (Fullarton's) and the 102nd, (Rowley's) Regiment did duty in Fort William with the 2/42nd Royal Highland Regiment. Both regiments were raised in 1780 and disbanded in 1785. (Fortescue Vol. III, p. 506). Very little information about the 98th seems to be available but the cost of maintaining the 102nd will be found interesting.

Home Dept.
Public
20th February 1783
No. 2.

Estimate of the charge of the 102nd Regiment of Foot per month of 31 days on the British Establishment.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d
1 Colonel & Captain per diem	1	4	0	37	4	0
1 Lt. Col. & Captain ,,	0	17	0	26	7	0
1 Major & Captain ,,	0	15	0	23	5	0
7 Captains each per diem	0	10	0	108	10	0
22 Lieutenants ,, ,,	0	4	8	159	2	8
8 Ensigns ,, ,,	0	3	8	45	9	4
1 Chaplain ,, ,,	0	6	8	10	6	8
1 Adjutant ,, ,,	0	4	0	6	4	0
1 Quartermaster ,, ,,	0	4	8	7	4	8
1 Surgeon ,, ,,	0	4	0	6	4	0
2 Mates ,, ,,	0	3	6	10	17	0
50 Serjeants ,, ,,	0	1	6	116	5	0
50 Corporals ,, ,,	0	1	0	77	10	0
20 Drumers ,, ,,	0	1	0	31	0	0
2 Fifers ,, ,,	0	1	0	3	2	0
1000 Private Men ,, ,,	0	0	8	1033	18	0
1168				1701	18	0
Allowances to the widows per diem ...		13	4	20	13	4
Colonel		11	8	18	1	8
Captain		10	0	15	10	0
Agent		5	0	7	15	0
Total charge for 31 days				1763	18	0

Mem/

Or in the currency of Bengal, agreeable to the Exchange settled by Act of Parliament, (2/1 p. Ct Rupee amounts to 16,933-7-0, 48 Current Rupees 15,255-5-7 Sunnat Rupees.

A true copy
Sd/- G. Tyler,
Asst. Secy to the Comm. in Chief.

From those figures it looks as if the Volunteers, who served in most of the regiments occupying a position between the officers and the sergeants, got nothing a month. They took a deal of pains to be appointed to regiments in hope of gaining a commission and while their duties were like those of the niece in the Portugese priest's household—not quite accurately defined—they had to rush about like a spare General, being privileged to put on any fancy sort of uniform they cared to invent. Their "appointment" seemed to give them few claims on anything but the contemptible meanness of Government. One would like to learn a bit more about the old time "Volunteers."

Sophia Goldborne, in Hartly House published in 1789 says, evidently writing about the period 1785:—

"We are to dine in the New Fort, at the commanding officer's (the Fort Major) whose house is situated within its circumference ; and it is deemed one of the finest forts in the world, has a chain across the river to secure the habour from invasion, covers near five miles of ground, and has the bustling charms of a garrison.

"This fort, which was created by the East India Company, at an immense expense, is, I find, the nursery for forming and disciplining the troops from England ; and it is with pleasure I am enabled to assure you, that they are provided for in an ample manner, when in garrison, and kindly treated ; which, in fact, is very different to the notions entertained, and the opinions circulated in England. It is true that, when called forth into the field, their duty is not easily performed, the intense heat of the climate being hard to support: but, in order to throw in every possible softening, their pay is augmented to twelve rupees (forty shillings) a month, which augmentation is called *Batta-money*—and as a proof of the advantages held out to them, one of these common soldiers, who was shewn to me a few days before he embarked, left India with seven hundred pounds of his own acquiring, for England! Yet it is doubtful whether he will remain there or not; for few revisit their native country who do not, after a short period, re-enter the East India service.

"And now I mention the Fort, I recollect I have not yet told you that the public prison is within its walls; and few things, Arabella, are more curious or striking than the machines which convey the prisoners from thence to the Court-House to take their trials. The wheels of this machine are fourteen feet at least high, and under the axle tree is suspended a

wooden cage, sufficienly large to contain a couple of culprits, perforated with air holes to preserve them from suffocation; and in this miserable plight guarded both before and behind by seapoys, they are exhibited to the eyes of the populace—the whole of which has to me a very distressing appearance."

Hartly House. Page 222

While there are certain generalities about Hartly House which are not quite correct, it is true that private soldiers, often did well for themselves. It was a practice, long continued, for men who were unable to obtain permission to go to India, to enlist in the Company's army and later, to purchase their discharge. In Madras that used to cost 44 Pagodas, (about Rs. 330) which shows little change in the charge for this privilege during the past two hundred years.

The East India Company's army was something like what the French, and Spanish Foreign Legions are today. Men anxious to escape the law, disappointed in love or prospects found an easy path to get right away from the past. But those who came to India found in the easy life in cantonments many ameliorations. To men with ability employment was freely offered ; apparently few inquiries were made about them for it is on record that deserters from the Company's regiments were doing well as Hooghly pilots. When an order was given for all soldiers in civil employ to return to duty, an astonishing number of men from all parts of the country came back to say nothing about those who found sanctuary in the service of Indian potentates.

A school boy, obviously a very wise one, writing an essay on friendship, defined a friend as "one who knows you but likes you all the same." That was the attitude of the Honourable East India Company in regard to men serving in the King's regiments. They were naturally grateful to the British Government for the loan of troops to help in the good work of shaking the pagoda tree, but they were also pleased when king's soldiers deserted to join their own army. They knew they were deserters but they liked them all the same.

A complaint was made on this point which is worth re-publishing:—

Home Dept.
21 March 1785
No. 36

The Hon'ble John Macpherson, Esqr., etc.
Governor Genl. & Council.

Gentlemen,

It having been reported to me that some of the Detachment of His Majesty's 102nd Regm. under my command have enlisted for the East India Companies service since their arrival here, a measure which I have already protested against to the Board of Masulipatam and which I now do protest against as contradictory to His Majesty's commands, that in

future should such Enlistment prove injurious to His Majesty's Service you are the only persons responsible for the measure.

I am gentlemen your most obedient Humble servant
Sd/- J. Church
Capt. comdga.
Detachment of His Majesty's 102 regiment.

Fort William
20 March 1785.

H. HOBBS.

(To be continued).

Monumental Inscriptions, Third Series.

PART IV.

(Nos. 1698—1830)

GOGHO, KATHIAWAR.

The following list has been supplied through the kindness of Sir Patrick Cadell.

1698. ROBERT GRAHAM MAYNE, Major, 1st Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry, Asst. Agent to the Govr. General at Baroda, 2nd son of Rev. Chas. Otway Mayne. Born 3 Aug. 1841, died 7 May 1881. Stone erected by his widow, children, brothers & sisters.

1699. JESSY MARY ANNE WARDEN, wife of Capt. G. L. Warden, Bombay Staff Corps, died 2 July 1872, aged 36. Monument erected by her husband. Also Harriett Warden, died 7 July 1872, aged 9 months.

1700. JAMES MALCOLM, son of Rev. I. McKEE, died 24 Aug. 1850, aged 8 months.

1701. LOVEDAY MARY, only daughter of Col. & Mrs R. A. BAYLY of the Bombay Army, died at Gogho, 27 March 1858, aged 18 years & 24 days. Erected by her parents.

1702. WILLIAM BROTHERSTONE WALLACE, son of Rev. James Wallace, died 6 May 1865, aged 3 years 5 months.

1703. THOMAS CLARKE, son of Mr & Mrs Clarke, died 16 July 1870, aged 4 years 8 months 16 days.

1704. LOUIS McPHERSON, died 6 Sept. 1847, aged 20 months ; born 6 months after the death of his father the late Louis McPherson, H.M. 17th Regt. N.I.

1705. JOSEPH WALLACE, son of Rev. James Wallace, died 17 Sept. 1850, aged 15 months.

1706. ALICE ROSE, daughter of Lieut.-Col. David CUNINGHAME, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry (Lancers), died 8 Dec. 1843, aged 19 months.

1707. WILLIAM, son of Rev. James McKEE, died 11 June 1846, aged 18 months.

1708. ELIZABETH ANNE, daughter of Major and late Mrs Margaret BLENTEN, died at Gogho 18 January 1851.

1709. HENRY WALTER, son of Mrs and Mr J. WILKINSON, aged 18 months & 2 days (no date of death).

1710. JOHN PHILIP MAJOR, 11th Regt. N.I., died 18 Oct. 1846, aged 34 years. Erected by his brother officers. [Major V. C. P. Hodson

notes: Capt. John Philip Major, 11th Bombay N.I., died at sea 8 Oct. 1840: buried at Gogho. His wife, who was a sister of Sir Alexander Burnes, died at Bombay 8 days later].

1711. SEPTIMUS F. KNOWLES of Burnley, Lancs., England, died 17 July 1873, aged 40.

1712. Arthur James Mathew, infant son of Thomas & Georgiana Jane BARRETT, born Nov. 1872, died 18 Sept. 1876.

1713. EDGAR NEVILLE WYATT, Asst. Surveyor, Govt. Trigonometrical Survey of India, died at Gogho 11 Nov. 1874, aged 28. Erected by friends in Survey Dept.

PORBANDAR & DHANDUKA.

The following list has been supplied through the kindness of Sir Patrick Cadell.

PORBANDAR.

1714. Lieut. T. B. BALLANTINE of the Marine and Superintendent of this Port. Died 23 Sept. 1811.

1715. Lieut. R. W. CORY, 2nd Battn. 2nd Regt. N.I., died 27 Sept. 1815, on his passage from Juria to Bombay.

1716. Lieut. DANIEL DUMARESQ, 1st Battn 2nd Regt. Bombay N.I., died 26 April 1811, of a wound received whilst gallantly discharging his duty at the assault of Chayah on the 13th of the same month, aged 31 years.

1717. Lieut. H. COVENTRY, 20th Regt. N.I., died 21st March 1835.

1718. Major A. SEYMOUR, 20th Regt. N.I., died 5 Sept. 1839.

1719. Lieut. JOHN JESSOP, 12th Regt. N.I., aged 31 years. Erected by his brother officers (no date of death).

1720. Lieut. GEORGE FRANCIS LOCH, 2nd Regt. Light Cavalry, who was basely murdered between the villages of Turaee and Ranawow in this Province on the 12th February 1848, in the 25th year of his age. Erected by his brother officers.
One other uninscribed tomb, said to be of a British officer and over 100 years old.

DHANDUKA, Kathiawar.

1721. MARY ANNE PRICE, wife of Mr Thomas Price of the Cotton Department, died at Dhanduka 11 March 1852, aged 19 years and 7 months.
Also tomb of infant child of Thos. Price (uninscribed).

RAJKOT, KATHIAWAR.

The following list has been supplied through the kindness of Sir Patrick Cadell.

1722. JOHN ANDREW WILSON, Lt. Col. Commandant of cavalry, 1827.

1723. Capt. J. B. GOODIFF, 15th Regt. B.N.I., died Souchina 8 Feb. 1829. Erected by his widow.

1724. JOHN MONTGOMERY, 15th Regt. N.I., died Rajkot, 6 July 1831, aged 28.

1725. Lieut. A. MONTGOMERY, 15th Regt. N.I., died Rajkot, 26 March 1832, aged 26. "This tomb as well as the adjoining one over the late Lt. J. Montgomery of the same regt. have been erected by their brother officers. . . . . . "

1726. Ensign HALL 15th Regt. N.I., killed 23 Nov. 1833.

1727. Ensign WILLIAM CLAUDIUS ERSKINE, 18th Regt. N.I., killed by a fall from his horse nr. Wancaner, 8 March 1834. Born 18 Oct. 1803. Erected by the Society of Rajkot.

1728. JOHN WILLIAM only s. of Capt. DUNCAN WILLIAM and Anne MILTONSHAW ; b. Sept. 1833, d. 21 Sept. 1834.

1729. STEPHEN DANIEL SIORDET, Capt. 20th Regt. N.I., d. at Jooria 26 Oct. 1834, aged 35.

1730. WILL. F. M. COCKERELL Esq., Surgeon 12th Regt. N.I., d. Rajkot 24 Dec. 1835, aged 35. Erected by his widow. (William Fuller Mercer Cockerill or Cockerell : *see Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, by Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford, no. Bo. 461).

1731. Ensign THOS. MALCOLM DICKINSON, 14th Bombay N.I., asst. to the Political Agent of this Province. D. of cholera at Rajkot, 10 July 1836, aged 27.

1732. Lieut. WALTER VARDON, Quartermaster & Interpreter, 1st Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry, d. Rajkot 31 July 1836, aged 29 yrs. 7 months. Erected by two brothers of the Madras Army jointly with the officers of his regt.

1733. Lieut. C. T. WHITEHEAD, 12th Regt. N.I., d. 30 June 1837.

1734. Lieut.—Col. G. BOYD, 8th Regt. N.I., d. Rajkot 24 Aug. 1850. Erected by his brother officers.

1735. Major THOS. MYLNE, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, d. Rajkot 1st Nov. Nov. 1838, aged 34. Erected by his brother officers.

1736. Lieut. FREDERICK JOHN NEELD, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, d. Gondal in Kathiawar, 23 Nov. 1838, aged 23. Erected by his brother officers.

1737. Lieut. ROBERT BLACK, 14th Regt. Bombay N.I., d. Rajkot 1 Sept. 1840, aged 18. Erected by his brother officers.

1738. Lieut. CHAS. WILLIAMS, 14th Regt. Bombay N.I., d. 25 Aug. 1841, aged 25. Erected by his brother officers.

1739. JULIA HARRIET wife of Surgeon MONTEFIORE, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry (Lancers), d. 25 May 1843, aged 35 yrs. & 3 months. (Abraham Israel Montefiore, Bombay Medical Establishment (b. Jamaica, 1802 : d. near Ahmadabad, 1852 : see *Roll of the I.M.S.*, no. Bo. 517).

1740. ALEXANDER DONALD KEMBALL, cornet Bombay Light Cavalry, d. 3 June 1846, aged 19. Erected by his brothers.

1741. Surgeon James INGLIS, d. of cholera, 4 June 1846. (*Roll of the I.M.S.*, no. Bo. 468, which gives place of death as Sham, between Rajkot & Ahmadabad, and date as 3 June).

1742. Capt. T. CRISTALL, 8th Regt. N.I., d. Rajkot, 13 Nov. 1850. Erected by his brother officers.

1743. RUPERT KIRK, surgeon 2nd Light Cavalry, d. 31 May 1852, aged 46. Erected by his brother officers. (*Roll of the I.M.S.*, no. Bo. 601).

1744. Infant son of JAMES ERSKINE Esqre., b. 8 Oct., d. 9 Oct. 1836.

1745. ELIZABETH MACANLEY (? Macauley), dau. of Rev. Robert MONTGOMERY, d. 17 Feb. 1845, aged 2 yrs. 4 months.

1746. Rev. R. W. SINCLAIR, d. Porbander 6 June 1904.

1747. ELIZA CORBITTA dau. of Rev. Adam DICKEY, Glasgow, d. 27 July 1845, aged 9 months. (Name may be Glasgow).

1748. ELIZA PURNELL dau. of George E. NIXON, veterinary surgeon 1st Lancers, d. 10 Aug. 1845, aged nearly 8 months.

1749. ISABELLA DORA dau. of Major & Mrs. PRESCOTT, 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry, d. Rajkot 12 Aug. 1857, aged 1 yr. 4 m. 19 days.

1750. EDWARD BRUCE s. of Capt. SIMPSON, 2nd Light Cavalry, b. 12 Sept. 1848, d. 16 Sept. 1849.

1751. WALLACE s. of JAMES WALLACE, d. 18 June 1856, aged 18 m.

1752. Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) CHAS. GEO. COLLAND, 14th Regt. N.I., d. 21 Oct. 1841, aged 33. Erected by his brother officers.

1753. EMILY GEORGINA dau. of John Turnley and Jane Anna BARR, b. 31 Aug. 1846, d. 29 March 1849.

1754. Harry DAVID s. of same, b. 24 Oct. 1848, d. 4 Dec. 1849.

1755. ANNE wife of JOHN POGSON, d. 17 Dec. 1859, aged 29.

1756. Conductor JNO. SOMERS, Commissariat Dept., d. 15 Nov. 1865, aged 45.

1757. Lieut. S. M. ARTHUR, 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, d. Rajkot, 28 Aug. 1855. Erected by his brother officers.

1758. Bessy wife of Assistant Surgeon T. B. JOHNSTONE, 16th N.I., d. 24 Dec. 1862, aged 50. (Theophilus Bolton Wright Plunkett Johnston (1831-1894): see *Roll of the I.M.S.*, no. Bo. 868).

1759. ELLEN ELIZABETH dau. of John & Elizabeth SOMERS, d. 15 Oct. 1864, aged 2 yrs. 2 m. (Cf. no. 35 *supra*).

1760. G. C. B. COULSON Esqre. B.C.S., s. of S. B. Coulson Esqre. Blenkinsopp Hall, Northumberland, d. Rajkot 7 Sept. 1863. Erected by his parents.

1761. Lieut. HENRY HORNBY ELLIOT, Third Asst. Political Agent, d. Junagadh, 8 March 1862, aged 29.

1762. CHAS. FOILGER BREMER, pensioner 18th Bde. R.A., d. Rajkot 22nd Apr. 1870, aged 45.

1763. KATHLEEN ETHEL infant dau. of Robert B. BOOTH & Thoba Mary his wife, d. 3 Aug. 1874, aged 5m. 16 days.

1764. DARE DA SILVA son of WILLOUGHBY S. LEGEYT, d. Rajkot, 22 Aug. 1873, aged 1 yr. & 10 m.

1765. BEATRICE dau. of Major A. W. MACNAGHTEN, 2nd Light Cavalry, & Louisa his wife, d. Rajkot 27 May 1873, aged 6 weeks 6 days.

1766. JOHN LIONEL DINYAWALL (?) FORDYCE s. of Arthur Lawrence Dinjawall (?) Fordyce & Mary his wife.

1767. Mary ELIZABETH infant dau. of Asst. Surgeon E. P. BURROWS & Sophy his wife, d. 23 June 1865, aged 1 m. (Edmund Poulter Burrows: see *Roll of the I.M.S.*, no. Bo. 897).

1768. HARRIET K. STONE dau. of late Geo. Stone Esqre. F.R.C.S., d. Oct. 20,1863, d. 8 June 1864.

1770. ARTHUR ROBERT AUGUSTUS s. of Capt. G. NISSEN, Dharee Battalion & Sara his wife, d. Gondal, 12 Oct. 1876, aged 1 yr. 9m.

1771. Lt.—Col. JOHN GORDON, Bombay Staff Corps, for many yrs. of the Sind Horse, b. at Assynt, Sutherlandshire, d. at Dwarka, 27 Aug. 1875, aged 44.

1772. JOHN ASTON, s. of Capt. MARSHALL PHILLIPS & Mary his wife, d. 18 Aug. 1874, aged 4 m. 6d. Also his brother SILVANUS, d. 17 Dec. 1878, aged 1 yr. 10m.

1773. Infant dau. of Capt. W. C. MORRIS, 7th Regt. N.I., d. Rajkot, 8 Dec. 1878.

1774. GEO. TAYLOR, C.E. d. Gondal, 1 July 1879.

1775. ELIZABETH, wife of C.A. SIPPE, bandmaster 2nd Regt. Light Cavalry, d. 2 Oct. 1850, aged 26.

1776. ANNA MARIA wife of Sergt. Major J. STERLING, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, d. at this place during the absence of her husband on service in Afghanistan, 6 Sept. 1839, aged 32.

1777. JANE LUGAR GILLIES, d. 9 Nov. 1836, leaving 2 daus. Erected by her husband.

1778. JAMES GILLIES, Agency Head Clerk, d. 1 Sept. 1840.

1779. FRANCIS, wife of Riding Master J. TANT, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, d. 23 Aug. 1835, aged 27.

1780. Mary wife of Mr. J. TANT, riding-master, d. 18 Dec. 1836, aged 18.

1781. ELIZABETH, wife of Lieut. HENRY TOMUS (sic.) VINCENT, 7th Regt. N.I., Sub-Asst. Commissary-General, d. Rajkot, 13 Sept. 1847, aged 30. Erected by her husband.

1782. KATHERINE DUFF, wife of Lieut.—Col. D. CUNNINGHAME, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry (Lancers), d. 29 May 1843, aged 26.

1783. SOPHIE GRACE, dau. of Capt. & Mrs. MACGREGOR, 2nd Regt. Light Cavalry, b. 24 Oct. 1858, d. 28 Oct. 1860.

1784. CHESTER MACNAGHTEN, for 25 yrs. Principal of the Rajkumar College, b. 4 May 1843, d. 10 Feb. 1896, aged 52. (Also a tablet in Christ Church erected by officers in Rajkot).

1785. ISABELLA JULIA wife of Chester MACNAGHTEN, b. 15 May 1846, d. 2 June 1880.

1788. CATHERINE wife of Capt. BARNWELL, d. Rajkot 1 Aug. 1826. "This monument & the remains below it were removed to this spot March 20th 1863, from the site which they formerly occupied near the cantonment boundary of the West side of the Jamnagar road, at the desire of the surviving members of the family of the late Col. R. Barnewell (sic) the first Political Agent in Kathiawar".

1789. ELIZABETH dau. of CORYTON and MARGERY MAYNE, d. 11 Sept. 1916, aged 1 yr. (Also table in Christ Church with inscription ; "Ad majorem Dei gloriam et in memoriam Octaviae Georgianiae, conjugis carissimae, quae ante diem decimam kal. Feb. MD CCC III aet. XXXIII mortem obiit conjux eius J. S. Coryton Mayne M.A. Oxon. Collegii Rajkumariensis Praefectus hoc monumentum ponendum curavit".)

1790. ALICE LETITIA MARY LUCINDA wife of Capt. J. C. TATE, Political Dept. Bombay, b. 24 Aug. 1884, d. 19 Sept. 1919.

1791. HAROLD POGSON, Superintendent of Police, Kathiawar Agency, d. Rajkot 22 Feb. 1906, aged 35. Erected by brother officers.

1792. ANNIE DORA RYAN wife of Thos. Ryan of Bhavnagar ; b. 2 Aug. 1880, drowned at Verawal 17 May 1906, aged 25 yrs.

1793. JEAN CARTHEN (?) HARBORD wife of Lieut. L. B. Harbord, I.A., b. 8 March 1886, d. 20 Sept. 1912.

1794. HERBERT ST. JOHN WILLIAMS, b. Laindloss Vicarage, Mid Wales, 27 Dec. 1882, d. Rajkot 24 June 1909. Erected by his wife.

1795. MARIA dau. of Riding Master T. HEFFERNAN, 2nd Regt. Light Cavalry, d. 21 Aug. 1850, aged 18 m. Also her sister LUCY, d. Nov. 1850, aged 1 day.

1796. Col WM. SCOTT, B.S.C., Political Agent in Kathiawar, d. Rajkot 30 July 1893, aged 53. (Also tablet in Christ Church, erected by officers & friends).

1797. FRANK WOOLSEY, 2nd Bombay Rifle Regt., d. 18 Sept. 1892, aged 25.

1798. HARRY GEO. CARNEGY, Major I.A. : Bombay Political Dept., killed by a lion in the Gir Forest, 9 March 1905. (Also an inscribed fountain to his memory, and a tablet in Christ Church).

1799. CECIL WILLIAM, only s. of Capt. & Mrs. C. SAVILE, 31s. Lancers, d. 19 Aug. 1905.

1800. THOS. CONOLLY, late Sergt. Major 5th Regt. B.N.I., d. 27 Sept. 1826, aged 34, leaving a widow & 4 children.

1801. ERIC s. of Edith & James SCOTT, d. Junagadh 17 July 1900.

1802. Capt. JOHN McINTIRE, 19th Regt. N.I., d. 29 Aug. 1826, aged about 38. Erected by his brother officers.

1803. Lieut. HAROLD GEORGE CHIPPINDALL, R.E., accidentally killed on the railway nr. Gondal, 10 Sept. 1911, aged 26 (also a tablet in Christ Church).

QUETTA, new cemetery.

1804. Sacred to the memory of Charles Lawrence WALSH Surgeon Medical Staff, who died at Quetta August 4th 1891, aged 27 years. This stone is erected by his brother officers.

1805. In loving memory of Joyce Doreen O'DEA the dearly loved daughter of the late Captain O'Dea S. and T. Corps and Mrs. O'Dea, aged 5 years 10 months and 10 days.

1806. In loving memory of Alexander Leonard DUKE I.M.S. C.M.O. Baluchistan ; born Arbroath, 1866 ; died Quetta 26th February 1918.

1807. In loving memory of Captain Guy Edward BALFOUR 98th Infantry I.A. dearly loved son of Colonel J. Hume Balfour and of Edith Alice Balfour who died at Quetta 5th Sept. 1917, aged 27, after active service in France and East Africa.

1808. In loving remembrance of Captn. Elmes Pollock HENDERSON 106th Hazara Pioneers, killed in action on 25th June 1916, aged 31 years.

ATTOCK FORT.

The Mogul fortress on the banks of the Indus at Attock, Punjab, built c. 1581, was occupied by a British garrison from 1849 to 1934, and is now in the hands of a police guard. The following M.I. are believed not to have been previously published.

(a) *In the guardroom verandah.*

1809. Tablet to the memory of 19 N.C. Os. and men of the 1st Field Service Garrison Bn. Somerset L.I., who died at Attock 1817-19.

(b) *Old cemetery near Fort,* said to contain 480 graves.

1810. Capt. THOS. GOUGH, Rifle Bde., d. 29 July 1865, aged 59.

1811. Capt. WM. GAIR, 77th Regt., d. Fort Attock, 20 June 1867, aged 58 years 1 month.

1812. HARRIET, wife of W. J. STARK, 79th Cameron Highlanders, d. Fort Attock, 10 Dec. 1863, aged 25 ; also their infant daughter Fanny, b. 5 Dec. 1863 & survived but a few days.

1813. Pte. MICHAEL CAVANAGH, 79th Cameron Highlanders, d. at this station 1 May 1862, aged 22, from the effects of severe injuries received from the accidental explosion of a gun while firing a salute to the Lt. Governor of the Punjaub.

1814. Pte. THOS. MORRIS, 98th Regt., d. 5 Nov. 1859, aged 25 years. 9 months, after much suffering through severe injuries received by the accidental discharge of a gun during the firing of a general salute at Fort Attock.

1815. ANNIE CLARISSA, wife of Capt. T. W. SEAGER, 27th N.I., d. Attock 22 Nov. 1858, aged 36.

1816. ELIZA, FRANCES WHITCOMB, wife of Lieut. Col. R. BLACKALL, d. 26 July 1867, aged 38 years 9 months 14 days ; and Mary Anne their adopted dau., d. 27 July 1867, aged 15 years 2 months 16 days.

1817. BLANCHE FREDDISWOOD, child of Major & Mrs. FERRIS, aged 6 weeks (no date).

1818. JAMES EDWARD GAINSBOROUGH, son of Major & Mrs. T. N. HARWARD, b. 8 June 1871, d. March 1872.

1819. Surgeon Major JOHN HARRINGTON WRIGHT, A.M.D., d. 21 June 1879, on the return march from Afghanistan, whilst attached to the 4th Bn. Rifle Bde.

182. EDWARD BULLOCK, Junior, Asst. Engineer, Public Works Dept., eldest son of Edward Bullock of High Holborn, London, and late of Highgate, Middlesex. (No date : possibly about 1879-80).

1821. MAUDE, dau. of Surgeon & Mrs. A. C. MORISON, b. 3 Apr., d. 6 Dec. 1858.

1822. AUGUSTUS BEATUS HOLMES, b. 3 Aug. 1861, killed by accident at Thanda Bahir, 23 Nov., 1881. (Thanda Bahir is at the Punjab end of the great Attock bridge, the construction of which was begun in 1880 and finished in 1883. The deceased was evidently killed in working on the bridge).

1823. MARIE FRANCOIS LOUIS EUGENIE HECQUET, b. 25 Oct. 1882, d. 4 Jan. 1883.

1824. PERCIVAL MARLOW BUTLER, b. 14 June 1847, d. 18 Nov. 1872. Erected by his parents.

1825. Three men of H.M. 104th Regt., who d. at Fort Attock, 1870.

1826. EDWARD WILKINSON GARBETT, Extra Asst. Commissioner, Punjab, 3rd & last surviving s. of Christopher Garbett, esqre., Bengal Medical Service, d. Attock 5 June 1872, aged 25.

(c) *New cemetery outside Fort*, said to contain 280 graves.

1827. FRANCIS VANS AGNEW, Major R.A., d. of malaria at Attock, 27 Nov. 1908, aged 46.

1828. Lieut. CECIL DARLEY FARREN LEECH, 2nd Bn. N. Stafford Regt., d. 2 March 1918, aged 25.

1829. Bombardier W. MOSS, 59th Co. R.G.A., who was killed by the fall of this rock in the Attock defences, 18 Dec. 1905. (Stone fixed to a large rock. An eyewitness told me that the accident occured on a mountain path in heavy rain).

1830. Pte. FREDERICK PERCY LIGHTENING, 1st Bn. Hampshire Regt., son of Capt. G.M. & Ellen Lightening, d. 21 June 1901, aged 28.

H. BULLOCK, MAJOR.

The Calcutta Cricket Club: Its Origin and Development.

PART II.

(CONNECTION WITH THE EDEN GARDENS)

ON the rejection of the memorial of the Calcutta Cricket Club, both by the Government of India and the Bengal Government, in the early part of the year 1864, as stated before, the Cricket Club had to move their ground, in accordance with the suggestion of Sir R. C. (afterwards Lord) Napier, K.C.B., the then Military Member of the Council of India, immediately after the Cricket season for 1863-64 was over, that is after the 15th of April 1864, from the edge of the road leading to the Plassey Gate of Fort William to its present position by the side of another road which was then running from High Court to the Calcutta Gate of Fort William. And since then the Club has all along been enjoying the full privilege of the pitch undisturbed, although on the boundary lines of the ground some alterations had to be made for the improvement and enlargement of the Eden Gardens beyond the Cricket ground.

To understand how the Cricket ground was subsequently encircled by the Eden Gardens making the former one of its most interesting features, a knowledge of the history of the Maidan, the Esplanade, and the Eden Gardens is necessary. The details are almost so inextricably interwoven that it is difficult to write about one of these landmarks without bringing in something about the others.

THE MAIDAN.

The village of Govindapore, where the present Fort William, Eden Gardens, and the pleasant grassy plain of the Maidan with several statues, monuments, race-course, cricket and football grounds enhancing the beauty and health of the metropolis of the East exist, was in the good old days formed by the alluvian deposits of the Gangetic delta. And out of the total area of 1,178 bighas of land only 57 bighas were covered by human habitations ; the rest being a dense tiger-haunted jungle with standing pools of stagnant water.

After the re-capture of Calcutta by Lord Clive and Admiral Watson in 1757 the English merchants and the Company's servants obtained heavy compensation money from Mir Jaffar along with the zamindari of 24 Perganas and

the town of Calcutta with some adjacent villages, for their losses during the sack of Calcutta by Seraj-ud-Dowla. From this date onwards Calcutta enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity. The reclamation of waste and jungle was very rapid between 1757 and 1800. With a portion of the restitution money received from the Nawab Gobindpore was cleared of its inhabitants, and the foundation of the present Fort William was laid, and the clearing of the dense jungle round the fort laid the foundation of the present Maidan.

Although it is not the object of this paper to describe in minute details all the works of improvement that were done by Lord Wellesley's "Town Improvement Committee", "Lottery Committee" etc.; it may be mentioned here that even in the year 1838 the sanitation of the town of Calcutta as well as of the Maidan was not very favourable for the public health. The very small portion of the cleanliness which they enjoyed was owing to the familiar intercourse of hungry jackals at night and ravenous vultures, adjutants, kites and crows by day. The following lines from the "Reconnoitering Voyages Travels and Adventures: by W. H. Leigh" London, 1839, may, I hope, explain fully my statement above to the interest of our readers:

> "Calcutta streets are kept free from the least nuisance, by the presence of some thousand kites and jackdaws, occasionally assisted by the odd-looking adjutants and vultures. There is, very judiciously, an established law, which inflicts on any one destroying these birds, or the jackdaw, a severe fine. These birds, from being long unmolested, are the most impudent villains conceivable. Whilst sitting in my room at Calcutta, four kites made a rush at some eatables that were before me, and with which I was at the time indulging myself. I happened to be sitting with my back to the window. I did not see the thieves till they made the attack, by which I was so startled, that I was, for the moment, quite unnerved. In a short time, recovering myself, I saw my viands partly carried off, and, on looking round, beheld two of the caitiffs sitting on the back of a chair, close to me. I gently groped for my walking-stick, and, with one blow, I had the satisfaction of taking deadly revenge. I then threw the lifeless corpses out of the window, on to a flat-roofed house close by; and, in a minute, there were fifty kites assembled round, no doubt as jurymen, to ascertain the cause of death. Their lamentations were loud and long; at last, the two dead kites (as I thought) arose, looked earnestly at their fellows, made a turn or two amongst them, when the whole host flew off together. Before a penalty was introduced for the destruction of these birds, many adjutants fell victims to their gluttony, and the cruelty of the idlers at Fort William. A large marrow-bone was provided, and powder placed, with a slow burning match, in the inside; the bone was then smeared over with fat, and thrown into the square; in an instant it was in the capacious pouch of the adjutant, who flew off to disgorge it at leisure; but his flight was soon stopped by the going off of the powder, which blew the unsuspecting victim into fragments, doubtless to the indescribable delight of the authors of the cruel deed."............"Ever and anon, borne on the

breeze of night, came the mournful howl of the jackall, rising at times like the shrill cry of a child in distress ; and then the low moan would echo as that of a person in dying agony. Occasionally a yelping "whow! whow!" from the whole flock was heard, and then the solitary yell of one calling to his fellow. I have heard them in my bed in Calcutta, and the jungles bordering the river all along resound, from sunset to sunrise, with their horried cries.".........

These were the true pictures of the Maidan, Chowringhee and the Esplanade in the early part of the administration of Lord Auckland.

AUCKLAND CIRCUS GARDENS.

LORD Auckland not only appointed in 1836 the "Fever Hospital Committee" for the benefit of the people of Calcutta but in order to promote the health, convenience and comfort of the public, and to improve the aspect of the town the formation of a circus and a garden in the north-western corner of the Esplanade was also first determined upon by His Excellency in 1840, in personal communication with the Civil Architect Capt. Fitzgerald, who was entrusted with the execution of the design of them (1). The expenditure sanctioned for carrying out the works amounted to Co's Rs. 6,003-5-3, as will appear from the Military Board's letter given below :

"*5108.*

To the Right Hon'ble George Earl Auckland, G.C.B. Governor of Bengal, (2) Judicial Department.

Dept. of Public Works.

Submit Captain Fitzgerald's Estimate for certain improvements in the vicinity of the Strand at Calcutta.

Captain Fitzgerald's letter No. 304.

My Lord,

We do ourselves the honor to submit a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin together with the undermentioned Estimate of the probable expense of making certain improvements in the vicinity of the Strand at the Presidency, amounting to Rupees 6,003-5-3.

2. The Estimate is stated to have been prepared, in conformity with instructions received from your Lordship, and we accordingly limit our remarks to the observation that the rates assumed in it are fair, with exception to that charged for the Road. On this point however the Civil Architect's letter is explanatory.

Estimate (No. 307 Book B of 1840/41 M.B.O. with plan No. 719) by Captain Fitzgerald, Civil architect, of the probable expense of executing certain improvements in the vicinity of the Strand at Calcutta amounting after correction to Companys Rupees....................6003-5-3.

(1) Bengal Judl. Progs., 17 Nov. 1840, Nos. 32-33.

(2) The Governor-General was also the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal from 16 June 1834 to 30 Apr. 1854. The first Lieutenant-Govr. Sir Frederick James Halliday assumed office on 1 May 1854. On Apr. 1, 1912 Bengal was placed under a separate Governor and the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor was abolished (*List of Heads of Administration in India and of the India Office in England* page (9) foot note.

Mily. Bd. Office
5th January 1841.

D. McLEOD, COLL. CHIEF ENGR.
D. Mc EARLAN, CHIEF MAGTE. & M. MY. BD.
(Signed) I. FIDDES, LIEUT.-COLL.
A. IRVINE, MAJOR, M. MY. BD."

And thus subsequently a pleasure ground with an oblong tank in its centre was laid out on a site generally resorted to for recreation and riding ; and it was named as "Auckland Circus Gardens". It was bounded by "Respondentia Walk" (3) on the South West, Calcutta Gate Road on the East, and Esplanade Row on the North, as will be seen from the map of J. B. Tasin, 1834. (4)

The following lines of Mr. W. H. Leigh will, I hope, place before our readers the vivid descriptions of the Calcutta promenade on the Esplanade, West, where the Auckland Circus Gardens were laid out.

> "It is amusing for a stranger in Calcutta to sally forth to a place called the Esplanade, where in the evening, all the fashionables of the city of palaces appear ; some may be seen in buggy, chaise, and coach ; some on horseback, with their ladies, chatting on their Bucephalus, beside them. Then comes, tearing up the earth as he gallops along, some madcap ensign ; then a sturdy old veteran and his chums. There go two middies, rattling along in a buggy, for which they pay 18 s for the evening, and now they are in the height of their glory. There is a wealthy Baboo (merchant native) and his tribe ; and here is a coach load of natives, trying to "do the English". Here is Mrs Such-a-one, and her deary ; and there is Mrs So-and-so, and she has a very fine equipage in comparison with that of Mrs Such-a-one ; and therefore Mrs. Such-a-one envies her, and as they pass, turns up her nose in affected contempt. Here is a load of Calcutta Anglo-English belles ; they have still good features, but their face is the colour of the desert of Zaarah. After proceeding rather more than a quarter of a mile, they all turn round and gaze at each other ; and this amusement continues till the sun has set, when there being no twilight in Calcutta, it becomes almost instantly dark, and the worthies all drive to their respective domiciles to dinner.
>
> This is a true picture of the Calcutta promenade the same old shabby vehicles (for I never saw anything, like a good one), and the

(3) The name "Respondentia" is derived from an old trade technicality which is thus explained : "Money borrowed, not upon a vessel as in bottomry, but upon goods and merchandise contained in it which must necessarily be sold or exchanged in the course of the voyage, in which case the borrower is bound personally to answer the contract". Yule and Burnell (Hobson Jobson) quote from a manuscript letter of James Rennell, Feb. 20, 1776, in which he says "I have desired my Calcutta attorney to insure some money lent on Respondentia on ships in India." No doubt this walk by the river served as a sort of change where such bargains were made.

(4) H. Dep. Pub. Con. 14 Sep., 1844, Nos. 17 & K. W.



ESPLANADE ROW WEST

CALCUTTA IN 1830.

(*Vide Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XLII, page 150)

The Tank and the adjoining land in the picture seem to be the actual Site of the "Auckland Circus Gardens" as laid out in 1841. It appears that a portion of the Tank which was converted into an "Oblong Tank" during the formation of the "Auckland Circus Gardens" and subsequently became a part of the artificial Lake, is still in existence on the western side of the Burmese Pagoda.

same folks inside, with the same grin on their faces nodding to one and mandarining it to another, the same monotonous cavalcade"...(5)

The painting of "Esplanade Row, West, Calcutta 1830", which is reproduced facing the previous page, will, it is hoped, afford ample testimony to the above description.

FUNDS FOR THE UPKEEP OF THE GARDENS: THEIR CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT.

ON the completion of the Circus and the Gardens the expenses necessary for keeping them up in proper order were paid out of the profits of the "Cooley Bazar Fund"; as the ground on which the Cooley Bazar stood was exclusively the property of the Government, and the rent collected from the tenants (who were chiefly persons connected some way or other with the Fort) went to from the "Cooley Bazar Fund"; and as the collection was made by the Town Major the disbursments were also left to him. The "Auckland Circus Gardens were, therefore, kept under the control of the Town Major and the City Architect". (6)

It is found in a letter of 1854 from the Town Major to the Chief Magistrate that the establishment under the Town Major was not large enough, nor the resources at his disposal sufficiently ample to allow of his keeping the Auckland Gardens in desirable order. (7)

At this time the general question of conservancy and Police of the Esplanade, and the points in dispute on that subject between the Civil and Military authorities, were also under consideration of the Government; in fact the Auckland Garden question only came up as a part of the other; and it was decided on the 28th April 1854 that the whole of the Esplanade with its roads, railways, etc., and including the Auckland Gardens, were thenceforth to be under the charge of the Chief Magistrate, the roads leading to the Fort from the crest to the foot of the glacis, remaining only in charge of the Town Major. (8)

"Proposed Rules for the guidance of the Chief Magistrate and the Town Major ,

* * * * * *

"Fifth—The Auckland Circus Gardens, together with each portion of "the sortie Roads as are mentioned in Sch. 3 which have hitherto been "under the Town Major and Civil Architect, will henceforth be in the "charge of the Esplanade Conservancy Department under the Order of "the Chief Magistrate, to whom the Town Major will make monthly or "quarterly remittances of all surplus rents of the Cooley Bazar for the "maintenance of the Auckland Circus Gardens." (9)

Under the same order the Conservancy and the Police duties of the Cooley Bazar were placed in charge of the Chief Magistrate, but the Town

(5) *Reconnoitering Voyages, Travels & Adventures*, etc. By W. H. Leigh, Lon. 1839—pp. 234-5.

(6) Bengal Judl. Progs., 29 Apr. 1854, No. 106.

(7) Bengal Judl. Progs., 29 Apr. 1854, Nos. 107-9.

(8) Bengal Judl. Progs., 29 Apr. 1854, No. 112.

(9) Bengal Judl. Progs., 29 Apr. 1854, No. 111.

Major was, at the same time, directed to retain his control over the village as far as the admission and rejection of residents, etc., and the fixing and collecting of rents, were concerned ; and this rendered it necessary further to provide that the surplus rents of the Bazar were to be made over by the Town Major to the Chief Magistrate, for meeting the expenses of the Auckland Gardens.

Thus the Auckland Circus Gardens, which had been for the last fourteen years since their creation under the Town Major and Civil Architect, and the expenses for the upkeep of which had so long been defrayed out of the surplus revenue derived from the Cooley Bazar Fund, were advantageously transferred, in April 1854, under the instruction of the Most Noble the Governor of Fort William, to the charge of the Chief Magistrate and the Commissioner of Police with a proviso that the Military authorities shall have a veto on the excavation of the new tank, etc. (10) The trees and shrubs and flowers of the Gardens are all in the care of the Royal Botanic Garden authorities.

In 1857 the sum of Rs. 5,344-10-0 being the cost of certain petty repairs and of erecting two fountains in the Auckland Gardens was defrayed, under the order of the Lieutenant Governor, from the "Convict Labour Fund of the House of Correction" which had at that time to its credit Rs. 75,851-5-10, and the water supply of the fountains was then made from the Chandpal Ghat Engine.

The Commissioner of Police Mr. S. Wauchope, C.B., explains in detail in his letter No. 480 dated the 10th July 1860, noted below, to what extent the surplus funds of the Cooley Bazar are insufficient for meeting the requirements of the Auckland Gardens alone ; and he therefore proposes that the establishment required for maintaining those gardens be paid out of the "Strand Bank Fund", (11) which would admit of the whole of the collections from Cooley Bazar being expended on itself. (12)

"From S. Wauchope, Esqr., C.B., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

To the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 480, dated the 10th July 1860) (13)

* * * * * *

4. The Auckland Gardens and Cooly Bazar Conservancy were made over to my charge under the instructions of the Most Noble the Governor of Fort William, in the beginning of 1854, and the surplus collections of Cooly Bazar

(10) Mily Progs. (B) May 1862, Nos. 877.

(11) "Strand Bank Fund"—After the construction of the Strand Road in 1820 upon the land then liable to be over-flooded by the river Hooghly, a considerable tract of land was formed to the west of it by the recess of the river, and this alluvian having been gradually filled up and raised by the deposit on it of the sweepings and rubbish of the town was authorised to be let out to tenants at will. The rent received from these tenants form the "Strand Bank Fund" In Apr. 1852, in general report on the Strand Bank lands, the Chief Magistrate stated the collections up to 31st January of that year amounted to Rs. 63, 318/-, and the disbursements to Rs. 19,885/- leaving a balance of Rs. 43,433/-. The rent at that time amounted to about R's. 10,000/- a year. (Bengal Judl. Progs. Aug. 1852, No. 31).

(12) Bengal Judl. Progs., July 1860 No. 480.

(13) Mily Con. May 1862, No. 1736.

were ordered to be made over to me by the Military Authorities for their maintenance. But these collections having decreased from Rs. 1,266 in 1855 to Rs. 753 in 1859, I have not funds sufficient to keep up the Establishment of the Auckland Gardens even, which amounts to Rupees 85-8 per mensem, as per margin, and the Cooly Bazar Conservancy is consequently in the most wretched condition. During the last few years, I have levied a small fee of Rupees 2, on every tent pitched on the mydaun and intended for sale and the proceeds amounting to about Rupees 370 per annum, have been devoted to keeping in order the Auckland Gardens.

	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Head Mally ...	9	0	0
1 Mate ditto ...	5	0	0
12 Mallies, at 4 each ...	48	0	0
5 Grass-cutters at 4/- ...	20	0	0
Lighting a Lamp at Chowringhee Sortie	3	8	0
Total Rs.	85	[illegible]	0

5. I now beg to propose that the Establishment for maintaining the Auckland Gardens, and which I would fix at the monthly rate of Rupees 99, as per margin should be paid out of the *Strand Bank Fund*, and that the whole of the surplus collections from the Cooly Bazar, remitted to me by the Military Authorities, should be expended in the place itself which is in the greatest need of improved Conservancy arrangements.

	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Head Mally ...	9	0	0
2 Mate ditto, at 5/- ...	10	0	0
15 Mallies, at 4/- ...	60	0	0
5 Grass-cutters at 4/- ...	20	0	0
Total Rs.	99	0	0

6. The fees levied from the proprietors of Tents referred to in the 4th paragraph of this letter, will, as soon as these arrangements are sanctioned, be credited to Government. The total monthly saving to the *State Funds*, by the Transfer of the Establishment for watering the Strand Road, and the wages of a Peon in charge of the River Bank, to the *Strand Bank Fund*, will amount to Rupees 125-13-6 per mensem as shown in the margin.

	Rs.	A.	P.
2 Naib Bheesties, at 6/-	12	0	0
45 Bheesties, at 4/- ...	180	0	0
1 Peon in charge of River Bank ...	5	0	0
Total Rs.	197	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Deduct.			
Proposed increase to Wages of Coolies, &c.	71	2	6
Saving Rs.	125	13	6

7. I beg in conclusion to suggest that as I have authority, under the Circular Orders of Government, dated 23rd July 1857, No. 54. to expend Rupees 1,000 from the *Convict Labour Fund*, without further sanction, I should also be empowered to expend sums not exceeding Rupees 500 from the Strand Bank Fund for the improvement of the Bank of the River."

In reply to the above letter of the Commissioner of Police, No. 480, dated the 10th July 1860, Mr. R. Thompson, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Dept., in his letter No. 5419 dated the 13th Oct. 1860 says.

* * * * * *

5. "Adverting to the remarks in the 4th and 5th para of your letter, the Lieutenant-Governor conceives that the owners of and residents in Houses

in Cooly Bazar, including Government, should pay for the Conservancy of that place by House and Lighting rates as they pay for the same advantages elsewhere in Calcutta. Such an arrangement has been recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor to the Government of India, and if the proposal is carried out, the rents derived by Government for permission to squat in the Bazar will be wholly available for the Auckland Gardens, and they could not be applied to a more legitimate object. With the rents obtained from Tents pitched on the Maidan, they will be sufficient or the purpose.

* * * * * * *

7. The Lieutenant Governor sees no reason for any changes which have always been defrayed by Government. If an increase of wages is indispensible, that should be made a subject of separate reference." (14)

Thus as desired by the Lt.-Governor the Eden Gardens and the Cooly Bazar were placed under the charge of the Public Works Dept. in Feb. 1862 "taking advantage of the Garrison Engineer's appointment to make him the Executive Officer for both the places."

STATUES IN THE GARDENS.

THE STATUE OF THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF AUCKLAND :—In September 1844 the Governor General in Council were pleased to allot a plot of land just to the North of the oblong tank in the Auckland Circus Gardens to the Auckland Testimonial Committee for the site to erect the statue of the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Auckland, (15) which was set up on the spot in the year 1849 ; but this "effigy by Weeks of George Eden Second Baron and First and only Earl of Auckland" in which His Excellency is represented standing bareheaded, with the right foot advanced and as if speaking, he holds his robe with both hands, and also a paper", was subsequently removed just outside the North gate on the opposite side of the gardens where it now stands.

THE STATUE OF SIR WILLIAM PEEL :—At the South extremity of the Eden Gardens (that is just to the South of the band stand) facing the Fort was erected in 1864 the fine marble statue of Sir William Peel, the Commander of Her Majesty's Frigate *Shannon,* who led his crew with their guns up to walls of Lucknow, during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and unfortunately died there of small-pox on the 27th April 1858. This Statue was subsequently removed and placed in a more suitable position outside the gardens just opposite to where the "*Shannon*" so long lay. (16)

THE BURMESE PAGODA.

The specimen of magnificent Burmese ornamental architecture with its sacred precincts which so solemnly decorates the scene, exhibiting the

(14) Bengal Judl. Progs. Oct. 1863, No. 225.

(15) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 14 Sep. 1844, Nos. 16-17 & K. W.

(16) P. W. D. Civil Works (Misc.) Progs. May 1864, Nos. 33-34 (B) and do. June 1864 No. 17 (B).

most exquisite painting and workmanship of the east, and casting its reflections on the neighbouring lake that it never fails to rivet the attention of visitors to the Eden Gardens who happen to pass by this Pagoda-block.

It is one of that class of religious buildings called "Tazaungs of Thein Tazaungs", which are not only used by the Priests of Boodha to worship in but also chiefly by parties about to become *Purins* or Neophytes on the occasion of their ceremoniously consecrating themselves to a monastic life.

When Lord Dalhousie visited Prome towards the end of 1853, His Excellency made up his mind to take away this Tazaung from Prome with a view to its being re-erected in the city of Calcutta as a curious and ornamental object. And so it was dismantled and brought up to Calcutta, under the order of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council by the Hon. Company's ship "Shnay Gong" on the 29th September 1854 being placed under the direct charge of Lieutenant Blair of the Madras Artillery.

But as there were differences of opinion regarding the site on which it was to be fitted up, the Governor General in Council, having determined to postpone for the present the re-erection of this ornamental building, desired Lieutenant Blair to have several parts of it very carefully stored up in the Arsenal of Fort William under his direct supervision and direction. But at last on the eve of his departure Lord Dalhousie wrote in a minute on the 22nd February 1856 :—

"Before I go I would propose to ask the Lieutenant-Governor whether there is now any objection to the erection of the buildings in the Auckland Gardens, if it should be resolved to set it up, workmen for the purpose had better be got, indeed they must be got, from Rangoon ; as well as some one to superintend the work. Communication with the Court Major, Phagu, will readily procure all that is required."

The Lieutenant Governor having no objection to the ornamental building being erected in the Auckland Gardens it was subsequently set up by a dozen of Burmese artificers under the direct supervision and guidance of Lieut. Blair, who was provided with quarters in Fort William in addition to his staff salary of Rs. 200/- per mensem ; and they took three months to complete the work. This Pagoda has a history of its own (see Bengal : Past & Present Vol. XXVII, Pt. I pages 77-78.)

But it may perhaps be interesting to note here that the original cost of building the Pagoda at Prome was 14 or 15 Viss of silver, i.e. Rs. 1400/- or Rs. 1500/- ; but only the fitting charges of it in the Eden Gardens did cost Rs. 6000/- over and above the allowance of Rs. 200/- per month to Lieut. Blair. It is much more interesting to note that the repairing charges of the Pagoda from 1922 to 1934 amounting to Rs. 25,899/- kindly supplied to me by the Govt. of Bengal P. W. Dept., Communication Branch, in their letter No. 205-C dated the 22nd Jany. 1935, the details of which are given below, may throw some light on the expenditure incurred by the Government to upkeep this ornamental addition to the gardens.

Statement showing the cost of repairs etc. to the Burmese Pagoda up to the year 1933-34, borne by Government in the Public Works Department.

Expenditure incurred previous to		1922-23	Nil.
Do.	during	1922-23	Rs 584-/
Do.	Do.	1923-24	Nil.
Do.	Do.	1924-25	Rs. 10,865/-
Do.	Do.	1925-26	,, 526/-
Do.	Do.	1926-27	,, 3,985/-
Do.	Do.	1927-28	,, 2,839/-
			Rs. 18,799/-

Expenditure incurred during	1928-29 and 1929-30	Nil
Do.	1930-31	Rs. 2,700/-
Do.	1931-32	,, 1,903/-
Do.	1932-33	,, 1,575/-
Do.	1933-34	,, 922/-
		Rs. 25,899/-

THE AUCKLAND CIRCUS GARDENS RENAMED AS "EDEN GARDEN (s)."

The change of the name of the *Auckland Circus Gardens* to *Eden Gardens* was obviously made before 1 April 1854—the date of the publication of Capt. R. Smyth's "Plan of Calcutta shewing the latest improvements as existing in 1854................." (with a list of streets). On the plan, (a section which is reproduced here) the Garden is shown to be named as "Eden Garden" in place of "Auckland Circus Gardens." The change of name may have been made on a recommendation of the Commissioners for the improvement of the town of Calcutta ; but whether this substitution was made in compliment to the Misses Eden, the sisters of His Excellency the Governor-General, or to the Governor-General himself, whose family name was Eden, still remains in doubt.

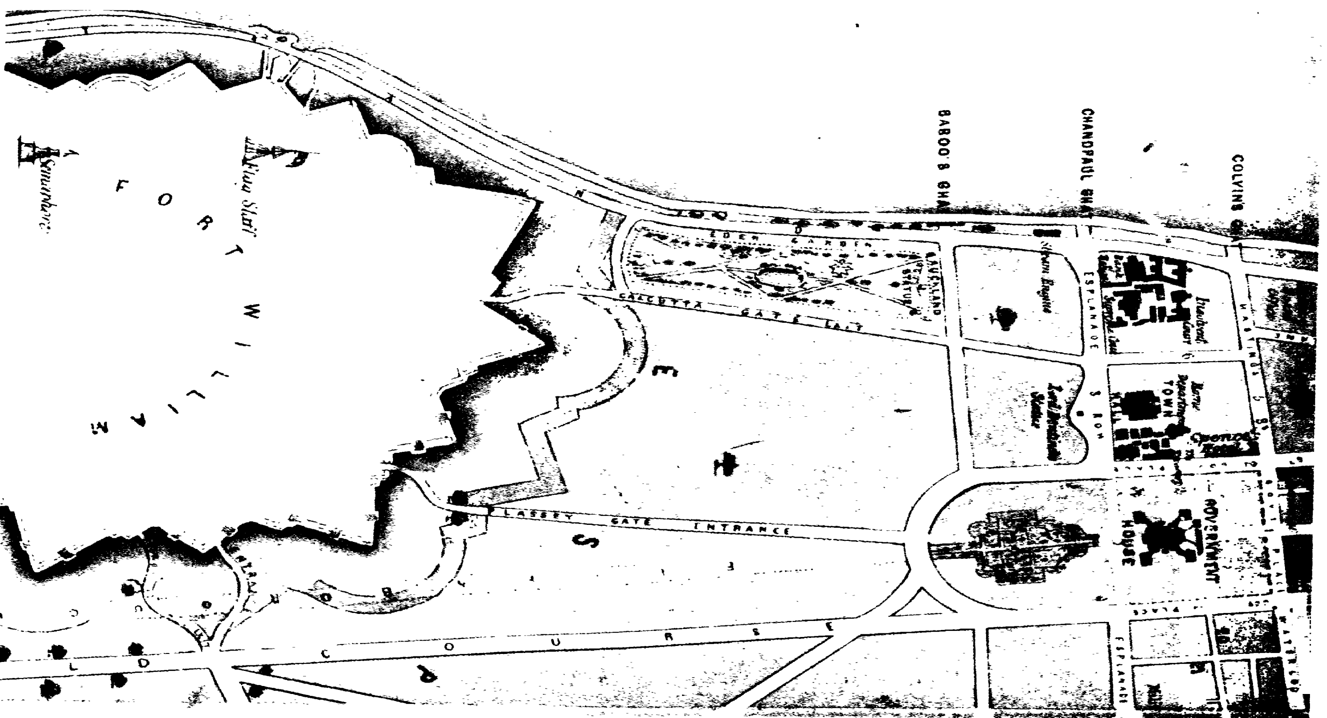
THE EDEN GARDENS MADE AGAINST MILITARY RULES.

From Brigadier General St. G. D. Showers, C.B., Commanding Presidency Division, to the Quarter Master General of the Army Head Quarters, Presidency Division. (No. 881 dated the 6th Novr. 1862). (17)

"Sir, * * * * * *

"Thirdly.—It is the open space which is preserved, as a general rule, round forts as a Military precaution. Under Military supervision all unauthorised encroachments will be prevented, while in the hands of the Civil Authorities it will be used for the convenience of the Town and its inhabitants.

(17) Bengal Judl. Progs., Oct. 1863, No. 222.



A Section of
CAPT R. SMYTH'S PLAN OF CALCUTTA
Shewing the latest improvements in the Maidan and Esplanade West as existing in 1854.
(By courtesy of Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., India Office.)
[From this Plan it appears that The Auckland Circus Gardens assumed the name of "Eden Gardens" in 1854.]

As an example of the encroachments made under Civil Rule I have only to point out the Prinsep's Ghat Piazza, building raised against all Military rule immediately at the foot of glacis, to the Rocket Court, the new Cathedral, and to a late grant being made on the Esplanade of a site for the Dalhousie Institute. The Eden Garden is also formed against Military rule ; but there is no objection to this so long as its original purpose of maintaining it as a shrubbery is adhered to and large forest trees are not planted."

IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF THE EDEN GARDENS BEYOND CRICKET GROUND.

There was an old Band stand inside the garden where the Town Band, or Band of the European Regiment stationed at Fort William, discoursed sweet music every evening and gardens were therefore for the most part resorted to only in the evenings when the Band played and not because that the garden had anything salient around it to attract attention, either in detail or in aggregate, and it was reserved for one class of people only. Rev. W. K. Ferminger in his "*Guide to Calcutta*" says: "The evening walk in the Eden Gardens was sacred to the Calcutta *elite* and, if not in uniform, one had to assume top hat and frock coat in order to mingle there with the great ones of the land. Then came a wave of liberal sentiment, and the pleasure of listening the Military Band discoursing sweet music ceased to be a monopoly for Europeans". The people in carriages had little chance of hearing the Bands and those on horse back were kept apart from the Band by the space reserved for those walking. To remove all these disadvantages Sir C. Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal suggested some improvements to be made in the Maidan and the gardens, "with every regard to taste and public convenience."

The Hon'ble A. Eden, Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal in his letter No. 143 dated 11th May 1863 to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, writes : (18)

"8. . . . . . The Lieutenant Governor has indicated in the accompanying sketch the general plan which, it appears to him, ought to be followed here in laying out the ground. The present Roads leading to the Plassey and the Calcutta Gate of Fort William should be closed, and in lieu of them there should be a straight road from the Plassey Gate by the Outram Statue to the Treasury, while the Calcutta Gate should be approached both from the Stand as at present, and also by a new road leading from the Plassey Gate approach. The whole of the space marked (A) in the plan would then be available for a garden and the cricket ground. The broad ride would be continued round the garden, and there should also be gravel walk for pedestrians and a broad grass plot for a promenade.

10. The Public Works Department will be addressed in order that those works may be carried out under proper supervision. The Strand Bank Fund is available for the purpose."

(18) Bengal Judl. Progs., May 1863, No. 143.

"Mr. S. Wauchop. C. B. Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, in his letter No. 858, dated the 17th Sept. 1863 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal writes: (19)

* * * * * * *

(3) It is intended to extend the road passing Spence's Hotel and the Treasury in a straight line to the Plassey Gateway in lieu of the present Sortie, and that this road should branch off round the south-east corner of the Cricket ground to the Calcutta Gateway the present Sortie being closed. A new road will also be constructed from the south gate of Government House past the southern side of the Outram Statue triangle and will join the new Plassey Gate Sortie about the centre of the Cricket Ground.

(4) It is also proposed to extend the Eden Gardens to the Cricket Ground but neither in the construction of the new roads, nor in the extension of the Eden Gardens, will there be any buildings or excavations beyond what the officers of the P. W. D., to whom will be entrusted the execution of the improvements, may consider necessary for the proper drainage of the Roads and Gardens."

In August 1865 Lieut. Col. J. G. T. Nicolls, R.E., Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, P. W. Dept. forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India Military Dept. A Memorandum on the alterations proposed to be made in the Eden Gardens with a design and estimate drawn up by Captain S. T. Trevor, R.E., Garrison Engineer, soliciting "that the sanction of the Government of India may be accorded to the proposed works and to their being carried out at once." (20)

Extracts from the letter of Capt. Trevor and the "Memorandum" together with the estimate are given below.

From Captain S. T. Trevor, R.E., Garrison Engineer, to the Commissioner of Police, (No. 266A, dated Fort William the 26th June 1865 .(21)

"In compliance with the request contained in your letter No. 1029 dated the 20th instant, I have the honor to submit, for approval, a design and estimate for the proposed alterations to the Eden Gardens. . . . . "

MEMORANDUM ON ALTERATIONS PROPOSED TO BE MADE IN THE EDEN GARDENS.

"On the completion of the new road from the Outram Statue, to the Calcutta Gate of the Fort, it was intended to break up and remove the old road, running from the High Court to the Calcutta Gate. and which forms the eastern boundary of the Eden Garden. The removal of this road admits of the garden being extended eastward up to the cricket

(19) Bengal Judl. Progs., Oct. 1863, No. 70.
(20) Mily Progs., A Sep. 1865, Nos. 276-82.
(21) Do. Do. No. 277-79.

ground, and even beyond, so as to enclose the latter and constitute it a portion of the new pleasure ground or park. To effect this, however, it will be necessary to cut off a piece from the cricket ground adjoining the new Outram road, sufficiently wide for a ride to be made between it, and the road with an avenue of trees on the road side. The great benefit that will result to the public, from this extension of the ride, will quite justify the curtailment of the cricket ground though under less justifiable circumstances, this second alteration happening so soon after that of last year, would fall rather hardly on the Cricket Club. The cricket ground itself will not be injured in any way. Only the hut and raised terrace on which it is built, will have to be removed, and of course the expense of removal would be debited to the cost of the new gardens.

Assuming then, that the extension of the gardens will include this ride round the cricket ground the scope of the alterations to be made in the design of the old gardens assumes a more definite form. There are certain defects in the old garden also, which require to be removed, and I shall proceed to point out these defects, and shew how their removal has been my guide in preparing the new design now submitted for approval.

In the first place it is necessary to bear in mind that the Eden Garden is for the most part resorted to only in the evenings when the band plays, and then only because the band plays there, and not because of any special attractions it possesses in itself. This somewhat exclusive and uncomplimentary use of the garden, however, must be humoured to the full, and every facility afforded to all classes of visitors to hear the music. Whether riding, driving or walking people should be able to approach near enough to the band-stand to hear, and one class should not exclude another as at present. People in carriages now have little chance of hearing, and those on horse-back are separated from the band by the space reserved for those walking. It will be seen in my design that all these are in future to be equally favoured in respect of the music.

* * * *

The crescent shaped piece of ground included between the ride and cricket ground, I propose to plant irregularly with various kinds of trees single and in clumps, as is usual in parks.

* * * *

In conclusion, I attach an approximate estimate of the cost of these alterations. It is impossible to calculate the cost of planting and transplanting very precisely, as indeed is the case with all gardening operations. But the sums I have set down will be enough to complete all the heavy work to be done at the outset. The perfection and completion of the garden work will take a year or two, and no estimate can be made of the cost beyond assigning a fixed establishment for the work.

Sd/- S. T. TREVOR, Capt. R. E.,
Garrison Engineer."

"From V. H. Schalch, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, Fort William (No. 1096, dated the 30th June, 1865).

I have the honour to forward, in reply to your letter No. 5437 of the 30th November last, a plan and estimate for the enlargement and improvement of the Eden Garden, prepared in accordance with the suggestions of His Hon. the Lt. Governor, contained in the 2nd para of your letter.

2. The Garrison Engineer originated the design for the proposed alteration, in which both the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens and myself concur.

3. The Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens undertook to design the setting out of the garden in flower beds and shrubberies, but having to leave Calcutta on duty made over the task to the head gardener of the Botanical Gardens, with whose assistance it has since been carried out by the Garrison Engineer.

4. The accompanying Memo. of the Garrison Engineer with letter dated the 26th instant, fully explains the nature and object of the proposed alterations, and of the planting out of the Eden Gardens, and is submitted for the sanction of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

* * * *

From Col. J. S. Paton, Quarter Master General, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Simla (No. 2759, dated Head Quarters, Simla, the 8th September, 1865).

In returning the enclosures received with your No. 482 dated 30th ultimo, I am desired by the Commander-in-Chief to state, for the information of Government, that His Excellency sees no objection to the proposed enlargement of the Eden Garden, Calcutta.

From Lieut.-Colonel B. E. Bacon, Offg. Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department (No. 465, dated Fort William, the 22nd September, 1865).

In returning the original enclosures of your letter No. 3911 of the 11th ultimo, I am directed to state for the information of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, that Government approve of the proposed enlargement of the Eden Garden, Calcutta."

GARDENS.

Thus gardens were considerably extended eastward beyond the Calcutta Cricket Club Ground by the removal of the old road, which running from the High Court to the Calcutta Gate of Fort William, then formed the western boundary of the present site of the Cricket Ground ; and the Riding course

in the Eden Gardens which at that time passed between the Cricket Ground and the lake was closed to connect the fencing with that of the Cricket Ground.

The gardens were broken up into striking masses to satisfy the passing glance of a person riding or driving rapidly by as well as the more enquiring scrutiny of one on foot, who finds pleasure on the well proportioned and carefully kept garden. There we find the new Band-stand with its canopy, the fountains with their basements of flowers, the Pagoda with its sacred precincts, the vistas, the variety of most luxuriant and beautiful foliage, the broad turfed ride for equestrians and a gravelled walk for pedestrians, a board grass plot for a promenade and an ornamental lake interspersed with gently undulating ground, a feature in the landscape which from its rarity in the plain of Bengal adds no small grace thereto in human eyes—containing groves of evergreen and umbrageous palms of different varieties and flowering shrubs of various dyes. Water-lilies are found blooming hither and thither on the lake and on its blue calm surface the king-fisher with its azure wings and crimson beak is seen stretching, dipping and diving its long thin bill and ,darting into the nearest grove with its little trophy at its beak. Seats are found in almost every desirable situation in the gardens, some being placed under the shade of Banians and other large trees and some around the fine lawn in front of the Band-stand, while others in secluded parts fringed with dark feathers of aricas and other groves of trees of deep green foliage which seem so jealously to conceal the trysting places for modern Juliets and their Swains. At the North-west corner nearest the Baboo Ghat is the nursery and office.

On the boundary along the Eden Garden Road and the Auckland Road there are rows of sacred *Davadaru* (22) which look well as a background to the more frequented parts of the gardens to the south. All these form a delightful park when viewed as a whole, and each affords a scope for that variety and perfection of detail which are the real pride of gardens.

Boats are also available for rowing on the lake from sunrise to sunset daily on the payment of annas four per head per hour to the attendant who is always found inside the Burmese Pagoda and the time is calculated by an "Hour-glass" (23).

(22) "Davadaru"—In Sanskrit Deva=Deity; and Daru=Timber. Hence a sacred tree. A species of pine in Bengal; it is usually applied to the Uvaria Longipolia. The name of the tree occurs in several places of Kalidass' writing in *Kumarsambhava*. Siva is described as sitting under the shade of a Davadaru tree in meditation. Again the tree is mentioned in "Raghubansham" as being adopted as a son of Gouri.

"ভাগীরথী নির্ঝর শীকরাণাং
বোঢ়া মুহুঃকম্পিত দেবদারুঃ"

Davadaru feeling the touch of the breeze passing over the sanctified Ganges is quivering constantly and suggests to the onlooker the purifying influence of the mother Ganges though not visible in its watery shade to the human eye.

(23) An instrument which measures the passage of time by the running of fine sand from one glass to another through a very minute aperture. In early times, an hour-glass was placed in churches, by the side of the preacher, who timed his sermon by it.

Erection of a Pavilion on the Calcutta Cricket Ground not sanctioned.

The proposal for the erection of a pavilion for the Calcutta Cricket Club in the Eden Gardens in place of the thatched hut was not approved of by the Government of India when it was first placed before them for consideration on the 18th of April, 1868; but subsequently the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to accord sanction for the erection of it, subject to certain conditions, in April 1871, when the proposal was again brought up before him by Mr. W. Piggot, the Honorary Secretary of the Special Committee of the Cricket Club.

The following is the correspondence which passed between the Government and the Club authorities on the subject:—

"From H. Leonard, Esq., C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2517, dated Fort William, the 18th April, 1868.

I am directed by Lieutenant-Governor to solicit that the sanction of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council in the Military Department may be accorded to the erection, in lieu of the present thatched building on the Calcutta cricket ground adjoining the Eden Gardens, of a structure similar (in respect of its durability) to the boat-house on the Hooghly River Bank near Fort Point.

2. His permission is requested because the Lieutenant-Governor wishes to require the Cricket Club to construct such a building on account of the unsightliness of the existing erection.

From Col. H. W. Norman, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Official Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department,—(No. 1248, dated Fort William, the 29th April, 1868).

With reference to your letter No. 2517, dated 18th instant, soliciting the sanction of the Government of India may be accorded to the erection on the Calcutta cricket ground of a building similar to the boat-house etc., I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council regrets he is unable to sanction any change in, or addition to the present building." (24).

• • • •

Erection of a pavilion on the Calcutta cricket ground.

"From W. Pigott, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Special Committee, Calcutta Cricket Club, to Colonel H. K. Burne, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(Dated the 4th April 1871.)

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(24) Mily Cons. Apr. 1868 Nos. 592-93.

"I am directed by the Special Committee of the Calcutta Cricket Club, appointed to consider the best means of obtaining a suitable pavilion for the Club, to submit to you the accompanying letter addressed to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the reply thereto received through the Quarter-Master General, with a view to obtaining the consent of the Government of India to the erection of such a pavilion as the funds at the disposal of the Committee will permit.

The Club has long been anxious to erect a more suitable pavilion, in place of the wretched hut now in use but until very lately the funds of the club have not been in a position to warrant any extraordinary expenditure. This season, however, the committee are of opinion that the necessary funds for the purpose might be forthcoming should the consent of the Government be obtained.

I am directed, therefore, to request that you will be so good as to lay the matter before the Government of India.

I am further directed to say that with a view to saving the present season it is very important to the club to receive an answer from Government as early as possible. So that you would be conferring a great favour upon them if you would communicate the decision of the Government with as little delay as possible.

I should add that the dimensions of the proposed pavilion as named in my letter to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, are found to be too small to be of any use. The extreme measurement would most likely be say 125ft./55ft. I apprehend however that the slight increase in the proposed dimensions would not be objected to.

To Colonel M. A. Dillon, C.B., C.S.I., Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I am directed by the Special Committee of the Calcutta Cricket Club, appointed to consider the best means for erecting an ornamental pavilion on the Club ground in lieu of the very unsightly thatched hut at present in use, to request that you will be so good as to obtain the sanction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief thereto.

It will doubtless be in the recollection of His Excellency that in accordance with His Excellency's suggestion, when Military Member of the Council of India, the site of the Cricket ground was moved from the edge of the road leading to the Plassey Gate of Fort William to its present position ; and that at that time an objection was made to the re-erection of the thatched hut, and that it was understood that whenever the funds of the Cricket Club should allow, the Club should erect a pavilion more in keeping with the changes and improvements, there being made in the Eden Gardens.

The Club has steadily kept that object in view, but has not until lately seen its way to comply with the understanding then arrived at. The financial position of the Club being now satisfactory, the committee are of opinion

that by a subscription or some other means, in addition to the balance at the disposal of the Club, the necessary fund might be forthcoming.

Before however entering upon any measures to that end, it becomes necessary to obtain the sanction of his Excellency to the erection of the building.

I am desired further to say that the idea of the committee is to erect a one-storied building of teakwood or corrugated iron measuring about 100 feet by 40 × 20 of as ornamental a nature as the funds at their disposal will permit.

I am further desired to say that the committee will engage so far as lies in its power, consistently with the means at its disposal to carry out any suggestions which His Excellency may think proper to suggest.

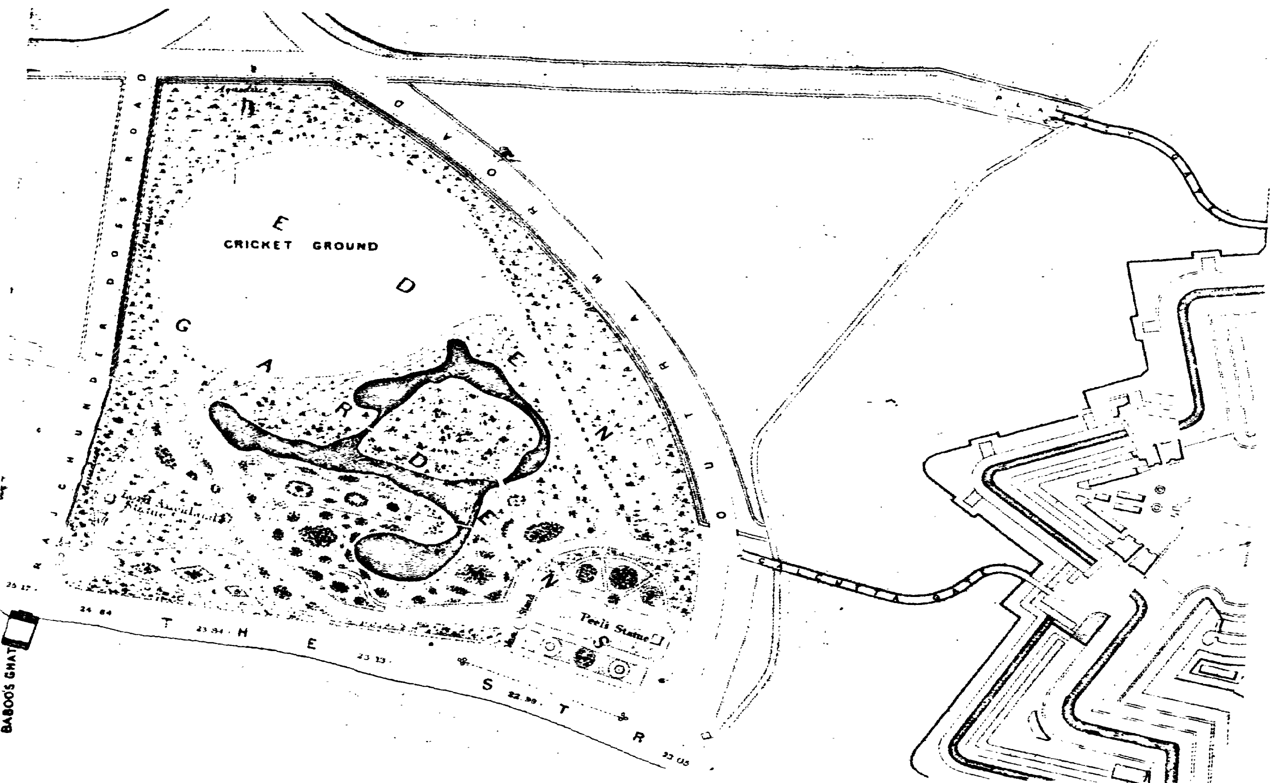
The 22nd March, 1871. I have etc."

"From Colonel P. S. Lumsden, C.S.I., Quarter-Master General, to the Honorary Secretary to the Special Committee, Calcutta Cricket Club,—(No. 1284C, dated Army Head Quarters, Calcutta the 1st April, 1871).

The Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief having had before him your communication of the 21st ultimo, to the address of the Military Secretary, I am directed by His Excellency to state that should the Government be pleased to authorize the projected construction of a shed about 100 × 40ft. within the Cricket ground enclosure on the glacis of Fort William, the Commander-in-Chief sees no objection to the same, provided the materials are of wood or corrugated iron, which can at any time be swept away, and that no walls of any other material are erected. The Calcutta Cricket Club must of course at any time be prepared, should necessity arise, to clear away the erection without compensation."

"From Colonel B. E. Bacon, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Honorary Secretary to Special Committee of the Calcutta Cricket Club,—(No. 699, dated Fort William, the 19th April, 1871).

Your letter of the 4th instant having been laid before the Government of India, I am directed in reply to inform you that, as it appears that the Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief has no objection to the construction of the proposed pavilion (100 × 40 feet) in the Cricket ground in the place of the present thatched hut,—on the conditions (1st) that the materials are of wood or corrugated iron which can at any time be swept away, and that no walls of any other material are erected, and (2nd) that the Cricket Club will at any time, on being required to do so, promptly remove the erection without compensation,—the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council sanctions



A Section of
F. W. SIMMS'S PLAN OF CALCUTTA.
From the Actual Survey in the year 1847-1849
(Revised to 1875.)
[Shewing the Calcutta Cricket Ground, Lord Auckland's Statue, and Peel's Statue inside the "Eden Gardens".]

its construction on the same terms and of the somewhat larger dimensions (125 × 55) which you state have been found necessary."

* * * *(25)

Thus nestling in the bosom of the Eden Gardens the Calcutta Cricket Club with its well-turfed green and beautiful pavilion has gradually been able to capture the imagination of the sporting world.

NARENDRANATH GANGULY,
Asst. Imperial Record Dep.
&
Hony. Asst. Editor.

(25) Mily Cons. (A) April 1871, Nos. 291-92.

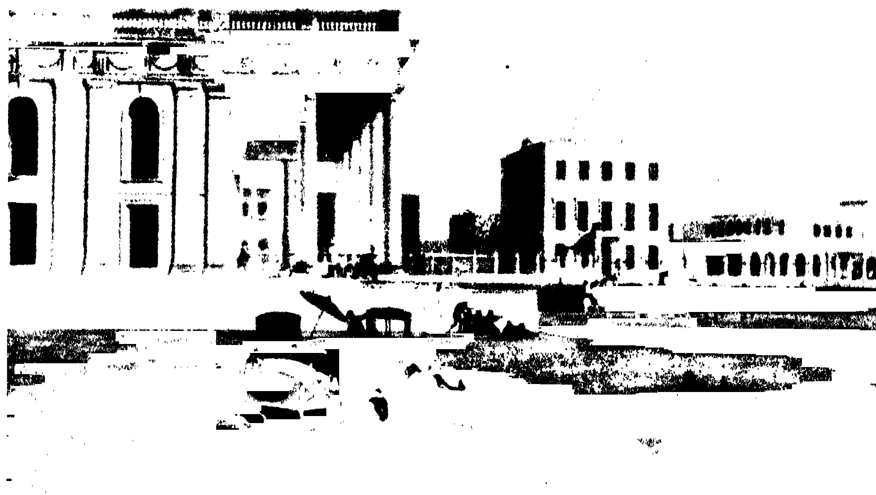
The Editor's Note Book.

Early Calcutta Pictures by Thomas Daniell.

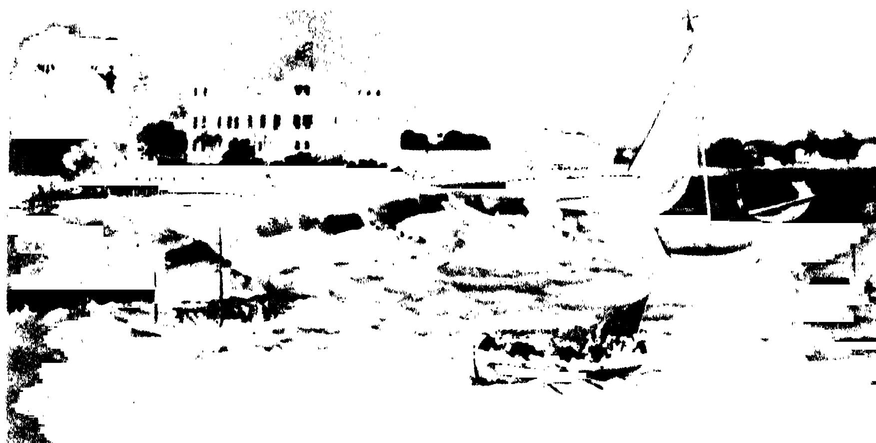
TWO oil-paintings of Calcutta, by Thomas Daniell, which have not hitherto been recorded, have lately come into the market. One of them (28 inches by 36 inches) has been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall : it is a side view of "Old Government House Calcutta," otherwise known as Buckingham House. The other (40 inches by 50 inches) is a representation of the Orphan Society's House at Howrah, and bears an inscription which states that it was "Presented by the Managers for the Orphan Society in Bengal to the Deputy Governor Thomas Henchman Esq., on his quitting India, as a mark of their sense of his eminent services to that Society. A.D. 1787." As the other painting is also signed and dated 1787, these pictures are contemporaneous with the twelve well-known aquatints and must be among the earliest of Thomas Daniell's oil-paintings. We reproduce both the pictures.

Thomas Henchman.

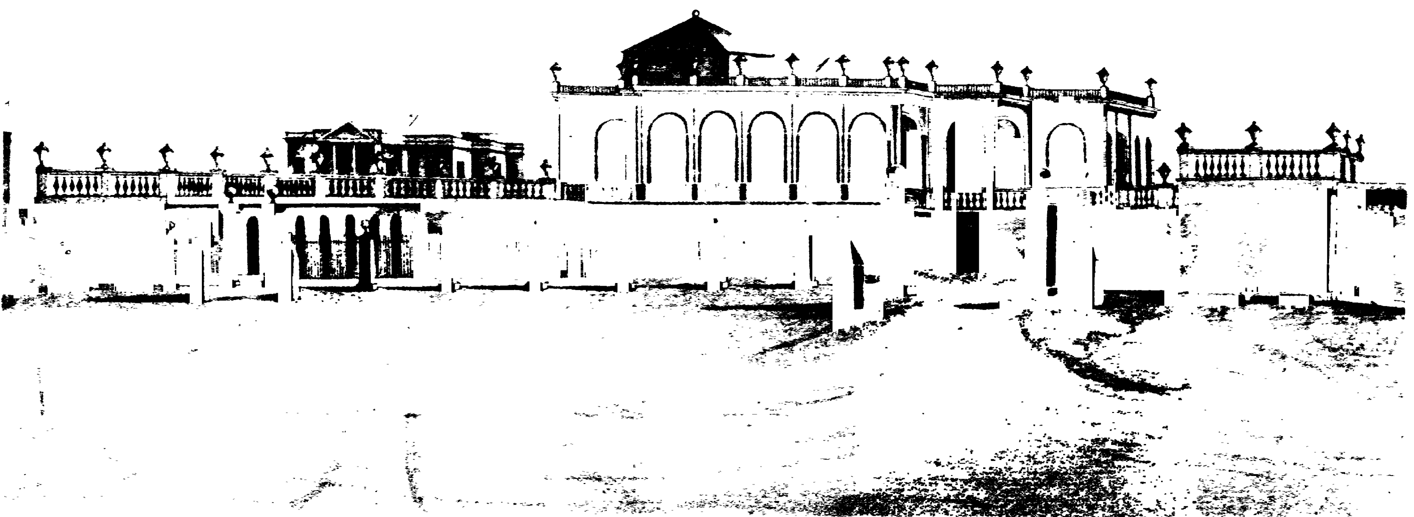
THOMAS HENCHMAN is commemorated by a column in the compound of the cutcherry at English Bazar (Malda), which proclaims that it was erected by him in 1771. He was the second son of a Middlesex rector and came out to Bengal as a writer in 1765. From 1771 to 1776 he was Resident at Malda and succeeded Claud Alexander as Military Paymaster in 1785. He died at Botleys, Surrey, on July 24, 1804, at the age of fifty-six. One of his daughters, Anna Maria, married Charles Richard Barwell (B.C.S. 1804—1836) in February 1821 and died in Calcutta on March 14, 1822. She was the divorced wife of John Brereton Birch whom she married as his second wife in 1805. William Hickey in the third volume of his Memoirs (p. 310) records that after his return to Europe Henchman (whose name is misprinted "Fleuchman" in the passage under quotation) became an eloquent and popular speaker in the Court of Proprietors at the India House, invariably attacking, and with considerable success, 'the measures and conduct of the directors.' In January 1786, he had been suspended by Lord Cornwallis, with several other civil servants, who had been at various times Members of the Board of Trade. When he was cleared of the charges of defalcation of accounts brought against him, he was offered reinstatement but declined saying that he did not wish to continue in the servic of such masters. He became Deputy Governor and Treasurer of the Military Orphan Society in 1785. The Society was



OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.
Painted by Thomas Daniell, R.A., in 1787.
(Victoria Memorial Hall.)



MILITARY ORPHAN SCHOOL AT HOWRAH.
Painted by Thomas Daniell, R.A., in 1787.



OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA
(BUCKINGHAM HOUSE)

An unpublished drawing by William Hickey
Traced from one of "Deniell's Twelve Views."
(By courtesy of Miss Ouless).

Warren Hastings Lived Here from 1775 to 1785

founded in 1782 by Major William Kirkpatrick for the education and relief of the orphan children of officers and men of the Company's Bengal army.

The Military Orphan School at Howrah.

THE building on the riverside at Howrah which is represented in the lower picture, has been used as the Magistrate's Court-house since 1843. It was erected originally in 1767 to serve as a distillery and was known as "Mr. Levett's house and garden at Howrah :" (John Levett was a free merchant who was Mayor of Calcutta in 1770). The Military Orphan School was located here from 1785 to 1815, when it was transferred to Calcutta. In Plate I of the Second Series of *Oriental Scenery*, "Part of the Esplanade, Calcutta," the Orphan House can be seen in the background on the opposite side of the river "which is here three-quarters of a mile wide." A sepia drawing by William Daniell of "The Orphan House from the Esplanade" is in the South Kensington Museum : and the younger Daniell in his journal (under date of September 1, 1788) mentions making a "few sketches of the Orphan House" from the poop of the pinnace in which he was about to start with his uncle for their tour in Upper India. The building also figures in one of William Baillie's Views.

Old Government House.

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, otherwise known as Buckingham House, was pulled down to make way for Wellesley's grandiose structure. Together with the Council House which lay immediately to the west of it, it occupied with their respective compounds the area between Old Court House Street and Council House Street. The Council House belonged to the Company and was used by successive Governors as their official residence until 1775 when Warren Hastings rented Buckingham House from Muhammad Reza Khan and lived in it until he sailed for Europe in 1785. Both buildings had their frontage on the Esplanade but the road seen on the right hand side of Daniell's picture is Old Court House Street, as his view is of the side of the building.

William Hickey's Drawing.

A GOOD IDEA may be formed of the architectural features of old Government House from one of the drawings made by William Hickey from Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta." It is here reproduced by the kindness of Miss Ouless, the present owner, who permitted the drawings to be photographed for the Victoria Memorial Hall. Hickey's notes enable us to identify the house in the background of the picture which stands to the northward of Government House. It was, he writes, built in 1781, and occupied in turn by three Members of Council, Edward Wheler, the Hon.

Charles Stuart and "now" (1788) by John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. Of old Government House, he says (somewhat incorrectly) that all the Governors of Fort William lived in it except Lord Clive who resided in the Council House, and that it was much improved by Lord Cornwallis. "It is situated on the Esplanade in the same line as the New Court House" (the Supreme Court building) and belonged to Mahomed Reza Khan, the Deputy Nazim who died at Murshidabad in August 1792. We have already pointed out that it was not used as Government House until 1775.

A Sporting Sheriff of 1837.

AS the date approaches for the Coronation of the King Emperor, it comes as a shock to realize that nearly a hundred years have elapsed since the accession to the throne of Queen Victoria. The Sheriff of Calcutta in 1837 was Thomas Holroyd of the firm of Fergusson Brothers and Co. and assignee for the creditors of Mackintosh and Co. He was one of the sons of Mr. Justice Holroyd. It fell to his lot to proclaim the accession of the Queen and to sign the first address presented to her from Bengal. His unrivalled skill as a whip is described in the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* for December 1838. William Tayler, B.C.S., of Patna fame makes mention of him and his prowess with the reins in the first volume of his *Thirty Eight Years in India* (p. 315). He was related to him through his son Skipwith Tayler, B.C.S., who married at Calcutta on December 14, 1854, his niece Charlotte the daughter of his brother Henry Holroyd. Another brother, was Captain George Chaplin Holroyd (1790—1871) of the Bengal Army, who married in 1818 Virginie Mottet de la Fontaine whose sisters married Sir Henry Russell the second baronet, Resident at Hyderabad, in 1816 and General Sir John Doveton (1783—1857) in 1809. "Tom" Holroyd died of cholera in Calcutta in 1859. There is also a reference to him in J. H. Stocqueler's *Handbook to India* (1844) at p. 358:

> Tandems and an occasional four in hand are seen now and then in Calcutta ; and great was the public astonishment on beholding Mr. Thomas Holroyd's drag. This gentleman, whose enthusiasm for the road was only equalled by his excellent driving, imported a real Brighton coach and many a withered Qui Hye screamed with delight on seeing the article which was driven for a few days as neat as imported with the item "Brighton and London" on the panel, bowling along the Strand. Mr. Holroyd also sported that most ticklish and rarely seen vehicle, a really well put together tandem and right merrily his chestnuts stepped.

A sketch of Mr. Holroyd may be seen in Colesworthy Grant's *Outline Portraits*.

Viscount Amiens.

BOUND up with the advertisements to J. H. Stocqueler's *Handbook to India* (published in 1844 by W. H. Allen and Co.) is a list of subscribers to Grindlay's Agency which then carried on business at 16 Cornhill and 8 St. Martin's Place Charing Cross. The third name in that list is that of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Amiens. Who was he? Sir Austin Low the present chairman of Grindlays, is unable to provide a clue, as all the records of that year (1844) have been destroyed. But Major Hodson has ascertained from one of the older Peerages and from Boase's *Modern English Biography* that the mysterious Viscount was Benjamin O'Neale Stratford (1808-1875) the eldest son of the fifth Earl of Aldborough whom he succeeded in that extinct Irish peerage on October 4, 1849. He was at one time a captain in the First Dragoon Guards and, according to Boase, took out five patents for improvements in aerial navigation in 1854-1857. He appears to have had no connexion with India and died at Alicante in Spain on December 19, 1875. The foreign complexion of the title is reminiscent of the modern Earldom of Ypres.

A History of Spence's Hotel.

MR. H. HOBBS, a veteran member of the Calcutta Historical Society and one of the best known Calcutta citizens, has written an account of "Spence's" Hotel which is the oldest of our hotels and enjoys the proud distinction of carrying on business to-day on the site of its original home in Wellesley Place. "Spence's" was founded in 1830 and has therefore reached the honoured age of 106. The earliest reference to it is in the diary of Mary Ann Friend the wife of Captain Curling Friend who brought his ship to Calcutta in 1830. The diary was reprinted in *The Blue Peter* for July 1930, and it affords evidence that "Spence's" was a going concern in that year. Since then its career has been uninterrupted and it is still "going strong." John Spence who was at one time steward of the Town Hall in days when it was the scene of all Calcutta's festivities, seems to have severed his connexion with the hotel about the year 1850. Mr. Hobbs tells the tale of its various vicissitudes with all the wealth of local knowledge which he possesses and in a racy style which should gain many readers. The letterpress is enriched by a large number of illustrations of Old Calcutta. The book can be obtained for one rupee from the author at 9 Old Court House Street.

A Descendant of Mrs. Siddons.

THE death has recently occurred at the age of eighty-four of Mr. Henry George Impey Siddons, of Woodcote, Bath, a retired member of the Indian Educational Service, who was a lineal descendant of Mrs. Sarah Siddons. He leaves no heir and by his will he bequeathed to the Duke of Kent, the King's youngest brother, "the gold repeater watch given by

George the Fourth to his godson, my grandfather George Siddons of the Bengal Civil Service". He has also left to the City of Bath a number of pictures of Sarah Siddons in various character parts and also pictures of her husband, parents and other relatives. George John Siddons, the son of Mrs. Siddons, was a Writer of 1803; he arrived in Bengal on September 4, 1803, and retired on annuity on January 7, 1838. He held a variety of appointments, such as Collector of Customs at Calcutta and Resident at Fort Marlborough (1813—1818); and during the last three years of his service was Postmaster-General. In the next generation he was represented by three sons in the Bengal Army and one in the Madras Army.

Maharaja Duleep Singh.

PARTICULARS of the family of Maharaja Duleep Singh are not, we believe, to be found in any current work of reference; and the following account has been put together from various sources. He married firstly, at the British Consulate at Alexandria, Egypt, on 7 June 1864, Miss Bamba Muller, aged 15, daughter of an European merchant of Alexandria. Her mother was an Abyssinian. Of this marriage there were three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Prince Victor Albert Jay Duleep Singh, was born about 1866 and married on 4th January, 1898, Lady Anne Blanche Alice Coventry, third daughter of the 9th Earl of Coventry, and died without issue. He was sometime a captain in the Royal Dragoons; extra aide-de-camp to Sir John Ross, commanding at Halifax, Nova Scotia; and major in the Norfolk Yeomanry. The second son, Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, was born in London on 23 January 1868; educated at Eton, and at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree in 1890. He entered the Suffolk Yeomanry in 1893, becoming a captain in 1898. In 1901 he became a major in the Norfolk Yeomanry, with which corps he served in the British Expeditionary Force in 1917-19. He was M.V.O. (1901) and F.S.A. Some interesting details of him may be found in *The Fourth Seal,* by Sir Samuel Hoare. He died in 1926. The third son, Prince Edward Duleep Singh, died about May 1893 and was buried at Elveden with his mother, who died in 1887.

We have notes of only two of his three daughters by his first wife. Princess Sophie Duleep Singh was living in 1930; and Princess Bamba Duleep Singh married in 1915 Lieut.-Col. David Waters Sutherland, C.I.E., I.M.S. The Maharaja's second wife, whom he married in Paris in 1889, was an English lady, Miss Ada Douglas Weatherill, by whom he had two daughters, one being Princess Pauline Duleep Singh (Mrs. Torry, living in 1930). The Maharaja died in Paris in 1893 and was buried at Elveden; his widow long survived him, dying at Ferring, Sussex, on 6th August 1930. A memorial service for her was held at Golders Green crematorium on 9th August following.

IN our last issue mention was made of Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary.* Another more modern yet as little known printed series of monumental inscriptions comprises the lists of epitaphs from the several districts of the Madras Presidency. These also are mentioned by Mr. J. J. Cotton in the introduction to his book, where it is explained that the District lists were drawn up and printed as a step towards the preparation of his Presidency list. We have not seen or heard of a complete set of Madras district lists, but a set of 26 volumes (excluding Guntur district, in respect of which a printed list is known to exist) was offered at £10 by Messrs Quaritch a few years ago. Such volumes as we have seen were for the most part printed at District Collectorate Presses; but the Tanjore district volume was for some reason reprinted as recently as 1914 by the Govt. Press at Madras. They afford a most promising field for research, for a rough count of the contents of 13 volumes in our possession discloses that these alone contain about 5,000 inscriptions.

Madras Districts M. I.

ALTHOUGH the Bhowanipore military cemetery was opened in 1782, only three eighteenth-century tombs are recorded as such in the *Bengal Obituary.* To these, however, a fourth may properly be added, as the year of death of Lieutenant George Shaw (p. 244) should, according to both *Dodwell and Miles* and the MS. casualty returns in the Military Record Dept. is the India Office, read '1786' in place of '1816'. Lieut. Shaw's name does not appear in the list of burials, 1782-1788, published in *Bengal: Past and Present,* Vol. XXXII, pp. 109-132; but the date has been verified by the photostat copy of the burial register in the India Office.

The Bhowanipore Cemetery.

ANOTHER curious error, which has also crept into Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the U. P.,* under Aligarh, appears on page 377 of the *Bengal Obituary.* "Lieut. J. H. Young, who fell before Comonah, 14th November, A.D. 1807, aged 25 years." The tomb is that of Lieut. John Heming Jones, of the Bengal Engineers. Captain Charles Stuart, of the 3rd Native Cavalry, who was present at the siege of Komona, records in his MS. diary: "When the enemy's mine was exploded Lieut. Jones was sitting behind a frame constructed for the protection of the working parties."

M. I. at Aligarh.

CHARLES STUART was a brother of James Stuart (1774—1833), of the Bengal C.S., sometime Member of the Supreme Council, Director of the E. I. Co., and M.P. for Huntingdon, both being natural sons of William Stuart, 9th Lord

Major Charles Stuart.

Blantyre. Their uncle, the Hon. Charles Stuart, had also been a Member of the Supreme Council in Bengal. Charles Stuart, younger, was Commandant of the Baraset Cadet College from August 1809 until it was finally closed down on September 1, 1811. Retiring as a Major in July 1823, he settled at Hillingdon Grove, Middlesex, where he died on August 29, 1854, aged 77.

The Black Hole.

OF the majority of those who lost their life in the Black Hole little is known beyond their name and, sometimes, their status. It is as well, therefore, to place on record in these pages such further details regarding the victims as may from time to time come to light. Captain David Clayton was a son of Alderman George Clayton of Great Grimsby, a Baltic merchant (1694—1734), by Dorothy, third daughter of Christopher Hildyard, of Kelstern, Lincs. The date of his commissions and particulars of his marriage are given in S. C. Hill's *List of Europeans . . . 1756.* It is of interest to note that his sister Elizabeth Clayton (1725—1755), the fifth child and the only one to leave issue, married Michael Tennyson, an apothecary, great-grandfather of the Poet Laureate, Alfred, 1st Lord Tennyson.

Capt. Joseph Price.

FREQUENT references to Captain Joseph Price, "the voluminous pamphleteer" (as Dr. Busteed styles him) and friend of Warren Hastings, appear in our earlier volumes; but no details of his origin nor of his death have so far been given in these pages, nor would they appear to have been known to either Dr. Busteed or "Sydney C. Grier." The latter, who gives us a useful summary of his relations with Hastings in her *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife* (pp. 349—51), places his death tentatively as having occurred in the year 1797. Born in 1726, he was the second of four sons of Thomas Price, of Monmouth, by his wife Elizabeth. He died without issue on June 3, 1796, and is buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's Church, Monmouth. Inside the church there is a tablet by Westmacott (who executed the monument to Alexander Colvin in St. John's Church, Calcutta) to his memory. His elder brother, John, was a merchant in Bombay and died in 1771; whilst the third son, Thomas, a merchant in Calcutta, died Nov. 11, 1776, and was buried in the South Park St. cemetery (*Bengal Obituary*, p. 70). The last named is believed to have had a daughter, Elizabeth, who died in Calcutta on Sept. 25, 1758, aged six years. Her name does not appear in the Calcutta burial register for the years 1757-58, a transcript of which it is hoped to publish in *Bengal: Past and Present* at some future date. All three brothers were at one time in business at Bombay, as appears from the Court Minutes of Mar. 12,

1760 :—"Resolved that Thomas Price and Joseph Price be permitted to continue at Bombay under Free Merchants' Covenants."

Charles Lee Lewes, the Comedian.

ON July 18, 1788, Captain R. Hardinge, of the *Kent Indiaman*, wrote to the Board in Calcutta from Balasore Roads reporting that a seaman whom he had shipped in the Downs turned out to be 'Mr. Lee Lewis, comedian.' (O.C. July 28, No. 12.) This was none other than the once celebrated actor Charles Lee Lewes (1740—1803), of whom a notice appears in the *D.N.B.* Twenty-eight years before his arrival in India he had made his first appearance on the boards at the Haymarket. After twenty years at Covent Garden he migrated to Drury Lane, thence to Edinburgh, where he was acting in May, 1787. Then, according to the *D.N.B.*, "in a vain hope of bettering his fortune he visited India with his wife and family. He had not obtained the requisite leave from England and his performances were prohibited." Captain Hardinge, it will be noted, makes no mention in his report of the presence on board of any other member of the Lewes family. The Court of Directors, ever zealous on behalf of the moral welfare of their servants, had always sternly set their faces against the granting of permits to proceed to their Dependencies to 'rogues and vagabonds.' It is, therefore, with no surprise that we read in O.C. of 30th July, a report from the Secretary to the Board stating that, "Mr. Lewis, who came to Bengal without the permission of the Company, consents to return to England by the *Kent*." Lewes, who was thrice married, was the grandfather of George Henry Lewes, the close associate for more than twenty years of 'George Eliot.'

William Coates Blacquiere.

SHIPPING as an ordinary seaman before the mast was a method not uncommonly employed at this period by those who, for one reason or another, were desirous of getting out to India without a license. The practice must often have been connived at by the commander of the vessel concerned or by one of his officers—doubtless for a consideration. William Hickey in the second volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 103) gives a list of his fellow passengers proceeding East in the *Seahorse* in 1777. Amongst those accommodated at the Captain's table were: "Mr. Jacob Blaquiere, superintendent of piece goods ; a son of his of thirteen, William Coats Blaquiere, a remarkable smart, clever lad." Reference to the original log of the *Seahorse* discloses the fact that the latter was rated as an ordinary seaman ; and against his name in the column of remarks is the laconic note : "Run at Calcutta."

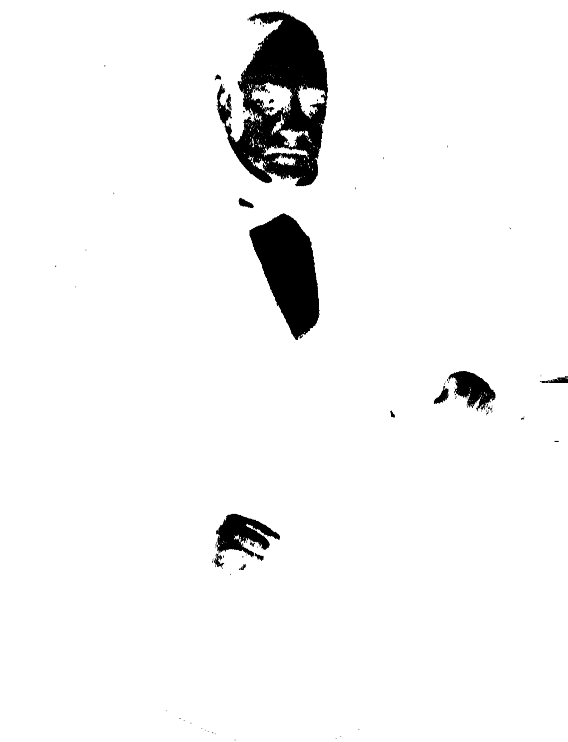
FROM the late J. Penry Lewis's *List of Tombs and Monuments in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1913) we gather some details of one John Pierre Jumeaux, who was born at Delhi on 15th July 1792 and arrived at Colombo from Bombay in 1817, as the following notice from the *Ceylon Gazette* of 31 May 1817 attests: "Mr. J. Jumeaux begs to inform the public at large that by the advice of his friends at Bombay he is come here to establish himself as an agent, and as such he has received for sale on commission, by the schooner *Wilhaina* (? Wilhelmina) a few pipes of London Market Madeira Wine, &c., &c. King St., No. 9". He subsequently became a magistrate, and entered the Ceylon C.S. in 1844. He is stated to have been of French descent, and to have been a friend of George Francis Grand, who gave him a book; but as Grand left India when Jumeaux was little more than an infant in arms, this statement would appear to be a flight of fancy. Jumeaux left many descendants, of whom Mr. Lewis gives full particulars, but what is of particular interest is the fact that he was born in Delhi in 1792, which would indicate that his father was in all probability a military adventurer. But the name Jumeaux is unfamiliar in this connexion. Possibly the solution is that his father went under a *nom-de-guerre*.

J. P. Jumeaux.

ACCORDING to the *N. W. Provinces Gazetteer*, (vol. III, p. 295), quoted by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji in his *Begam Samru* (p. 145), at the time of the Begam Sombre's death on 27 January 1836, "her forces were led by General Reghelini and eleven other European officers, one of whom was John Thomas, son of the celebrated George Thomas". It is interesting to try to reconstruct the Begam's last Army List and to identify these eleven officers. The following names are reasonably certain :—

The Begam's Last Officers.

1. Captain John Rose Troup.
2. P. P. M. Solaroli.
3. E. W. Butler.
4. W. Spencer.
5. John Thomas.
6. Pasqual Reghelini, son of the Begam's last commander-in-chief. According to Dyce Sombre's diary he was promoted lieutenant on 13 Feb. 1835.
7. Thomas Argle. Nominated for a second-lieutenancy on 16 March 1835, according to the same diary.
8. Philip Antoine, *alias* Antoine or Antoon. Apparently made adjutant-general on 30 April 1835, which office he may have combined with that of bandmaster.
9. Louis Fountain (? Fontaine). Dyce Sombre's diary, 19 Dec. 1835, has an entry: "We fired some shots at a mark with a cannon. Louis Fountain is a very smart officer indeed".



JOHN ROSE TROUP
1802 1867

10. Simon Joannis. Probably a son of Agha Wanus, the Begam's Armenian minister. The diary reads (14 January 1835): "Got Simon Joannis the adjutantcy vacated by Hamid Khan's resignation.

11. "Koounstive" (see *B. P. P.*, vol. LI. p. 9) who is probably to be identified with Francois Cohen or Koine (*B. P. P.*, vol. XLI, p. 146).

A Portrait Group.

WITH this list at our disposal it is tempting to try to identify the officers depicted in the picture of the "presentation by the Begam of Chalice to the Bishop and Clergy of Sardhana", which was reproduced in our last issue (vol. LII, facing p. 17). The date of this ceremony does not appear to be known ; but was perhaps between 1830 and 1836. There can be little doubt that the figure on the Begam's right hand is her adopted son, David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre. The others are by no means so certain of identification. We may surmise that the two officers, dressed alike, behind the Begam, are her two orderly officers, Butler and Spencer. The two, in elaborate uniforms, in the front row, may be Troup and Solaroli, who married Dyce Sombre's two sisters ; and the remaining figure, behind them, may be Antonio Reghelini, the commander-in-chief. We reproduce, for purposes of comparison, a daguerrotype of John Rose Troup believed to have been taken about 1850—60.

Baron Solaroli.

A CORRESPONDENT of *Notes and Queries* (20 July 1935) gives some additional particulars of the family of P. P. M. Solaroli, a paper on whom appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XLIX, pages 87-92. He was succeeded in his Sardinian barony (created 23 April 1844) by his son Paolo Solaroli, who was created Marchese di Briona on 9th July 1867 by King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy ; but died without issue in 1886. Davide (named after his uncle David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre), son of the first baron, then succeeded his brother as third Baron Solaroli. He was born at "Mogguri in India" (*sic.*—read Mussoorie) on 29th November 1840, became an officer in the Italian navy, was confirmed in the marquessate of Briona by King Humbert in 1889, married Luigia, daughter of Senator Francesco Conelli de Prosperi, and was living (with two sons and two daughters) at Turin in 1914. The above details are drawn from Ruvigny's *Titled Nobility of Europe*, p. 392.

We may add that P. P M. Solaroli had other children besides the two sons who succeeded him in the barony. A daughter Anne Paulina Natalia, was born at Sardhana on 26th Dec. 1834 and baptised on 2nd Feb. 1835 ; and another girl (? Georgiana) was born on 26th Dec.

1836, exactly two years after her sister. One of these daughters was married to a Count and was at Turin in 1857. The interest of this family to us lies, of course, in the fact that they are the only descendants of Walter Reinhardt "Sombre".

Isaac Lewin.

AT VOLUME LI, page 7, the identity of one Lewin, an officer in the Begam Sombre's service, was discussed ; and it will be recalled that he left a son, the Rev. Isaac Redgrove Lewin, M.A., Ph.D. (1824—1892), sometime Chaplain of Dharmsala. Attempts to follow this family up further have so far proved unsuccessful ; but we may surmise that Isaac Arthur Lewin, a civil engineer who died in the Bolan Pass of sunstroke on 3rd August 1880, aged 23 years 7 months, was a son of the Chaplain's. He is buried at Nari Gorge. (1)

Baron von Kutzleben.

ENQUIRY was made by Dr. Firminger in a note on page 52 of our last issue regarding the military career in India of Baron von Kutzleben who died at Berhampore on October 10, 1836, at the age of fifty-one. Major Hodson has kindly supplied the necessary details. The Baron (or rather Freiherr) had no connexion with Bengal, and the Berhampore in question is in the Madras Presidency. He was the eldest son of Christian Moritz von Kutzleben, Minister in London of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. His mother was English (a daughter of the Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley) and he was baptized at St. James's Westminster on June 1, 1785. He went out to Madras with an infantry cadetship in 1800 and served throughout with the 22nd M. N. I. (which became the 44th in 1824) commanding it until a few months before his death, when he was transferred to the 49th M. N. I. One of his daughters, Emma, married at Madras on October 2, 1836, Capt. R. W. H. Leycester of the 19th M. N. I., son of W. H. Leycester of the Bengal Civil Service (1791—1831) who married at Patna in 1813 one of the famous Friell sisters, and thus became related to half the Anglo-Indian hierarchy. Capt. Leycester was killed at Vizagapatam in 1859. Another daughter Elizabeth (by his second wife) married in 1851 M. J. Walhouse, Judge of Mangalore. Lord Valentia met Baron von Kutzleben during his travels in South India.

Stewarts of Ardvorlich.

MENTION was made in our last issue (*ante* page 55) of William Stewart of Ardvorlich who married a sister of Anthony Maxtone of the Bengal Army. Major William Murray Stewart (1804—1835), their son, became A.G.G. at Benares and died of cholera at that place on July 22, 1853. There is a monument

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(1) We have since ascertained that six daughters of Rev. I. R. Lewin are living.

to his memory in Holy Trinity Church Chunar. By his wife who was a daughter of Major R. J. Debnam of H. M. 13th Regiment, he had seven sons who all came to India. The eldest William, a Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery, was killed with his wife at Gwalior in 1857 ; but his daughter Charlotte was saved by an ayah and was the mother of the Duchess of Atholl, M.P. The second Robert (1829—1882) was a Deputy Commissioner in Assam. The third John (1833—1914) was a colonel in the Bengal Artillery and Superintendent of the Harness Factory at Cawnpore. The fourth Anthony (1835—1886) was a cantonment magistrate in Bengal. The fifth James Raphael (1837—1895) married a daughter of General Sir John Cheape of the Bengal Engineers. The sixth Major-General George Stewart, C.B., (1839—1927) was colonel of The Guides and a distinguished Mutiny veteran. The seventh Theodore Henry (1842—1892) joined the Bombay Civil Service in 1862.

A Novel Shrine at Cawnpore.

COLONEL John Stewart, C.I.E. the third son founded the Cawnpore Harness and Saddle Factory and was Superintendent until his retirement in 1888. He was practically deified by the Hindu Chamars who worked at the Factory and for whom he obtained the grant of a special bathing ghat. Those of a past generation may have recollections of a shrine at Cawnpore with his image inside to which the Chamars made puja. His son William Stewart (1859—1918) was a major in Hodsons Horse which was then known as the 10th Lancers : and his grandson who was a captain in the Black Watch was killed in action in 1916.

A Lucknow Broadcast.

THE seventy-ninth anniversary of the relief of Lucknow was celebrated on Sunday November 22, 1936 (the date of the evacuation after Colin Cambell's final relief) by a short broadcast by Mr. A. F. Dashwood who was born in the Residency during the siege (on August 31, 1857) and is popularly known to his friends as the "Lucknow baby". In spite of his age Mr. Dashwood is wonderfully hale and hearty, and his voice as heard "on the air" was as clear and vigorous as that of a young man. Born in Sir Joseph Fayrer's house, he is the son of Lieutenant A. J. Dashwood of the 48th Bengal Native Infantry, who died of cholera at the beginning of the siege. His uncle, Ensign Dashwood of the same corps, died of wounds at the Alam Bagh. Mr. Dashwood's mother who lived to the age of over seventy lost a child during the siege.

The "Gold Mohur" Tree.

THERE has been some correspondence recently in the *Sunday Times* with regard to the origin of the name "Gold Mohur Tree" as applied to *poinciana regia*; but most of the letters were wide of the mark. Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., who has been consulted on the matter writes: "The first part of the name is evidently the Persian *gul*, signifying "rose", or "flower" generally. The second part is not so easy to determine. Several suggestions have been made. (1) From the well-known gold coin (Persian *muhr*), in reference to the colouring of the flower. (2) From the Hindi word *mor* (Sanskrit *mayura*) meaning "peacock", referring to the spread brilliance and variety of colouring: this is the interpretation offered in *Hobson-Jobson*. (3) From Sanskrit root meaning to "fascinate, charm" (very doubtful). (4) From a Marathi word *mohar* signifying "a state of blossoming". Perhaps the solution is to be found in the fact that the tree was introduced from Madagascar within the last hundred years. It may represent the local Malagasy name".

The family of Warren Hastings.

ALTHOUGH Warren Hastings left no direct descendants the elder branch of the family of Hastings of Daylesford is not without its representatives. The chief of these, the Rev. Canon Warren Hastings, died on October 12 last at the age of seventy two at Orton Longueville Rectory, Peterborough, of which living he was the incumbent. He was the eldest of the five children of the Rev. Warren Burrows Hastings, Rector of Ludford, Lincolnshire, and great grandson of the Rev. James Hastings, Rector of Martley, Worcestershire, who died in 1856 at the age of one hundred, leaving fifteen children. They were descended from Samuel Hastings, whose younger brother Penyston Hastings was incumbent and patron of the living of Daylesford in 1701. In his youth Canon Hastings was curate of Churchill—the village in which the Governor-General was born—and was subsequently Rector of Maidwell in Northamptonshire and of Orton Longueville. He was an honorary Canon of Ely and in later years had a house at Eastbourne—Bushey Ruff in Carlisle Road—which he occasionally visited. There is a portrait of him as a young man in Sir Charles Lawsoris "Private life of Warren Hastings," p. 8. There is also a Lieutenant Colonel Warren Hastings (born July the 19th, 1852) who retired from the Indian Army in 1912; he married Frances Lina Plowden the daughter of Trevor Plowden the Second (1809-1899) and is therefore the uncle by marriage of Lady Lytton.
